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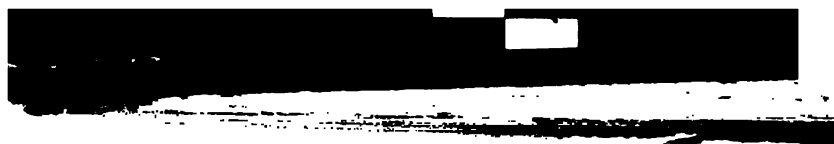
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**Quebec**  
**Under Two Flags**

*An edition of this work will be published in French  
under the title :*

**Québec sous les Deux Drapeaux**

BY

N. E. DIONNE, Litt. D., F.R.S.C.

AND

A. G. DOUGHTY, Litt. D., F.R.H.S.

*Orders should be addressed to The Quebec News Co.*

FIRST THOUSAND

# Quebec Under Two Flags

A  
**Brief history of the City**

From its foundation until the  
present time

BY  
A. G. DOUGHTY  
AND  
N. E. DIONNE  
*Librarians of the Legislature  
Quebec*

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**With Illustrations**  
By the Rembrandt Portrait Studio, London  
and the Forbes Co. Boston



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THE QUEBEC NEWS COMPANY

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1903

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*J. H. Minto, Esq.*  
*His Excellency, the Earl of Minto*  
*Governor-General.*







TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY  
THE EARL OF MINTO, G.C.M.G.  
GOVERNOR GENERAL  
AND TO  
HER EXCELLENCY  
THE COUNTESS OF MINTO  
THIS LITTLE WORK  
DEVOTED TO THE CITY FOUNDED BY  
THE FIRST GOVERNOR  
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED  
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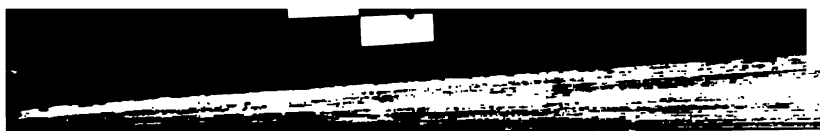
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## NOTE

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The excellent photogravures in this edition, have been printed from plates prepared under the supervision of Mr. James Hyatt, of the Rembrandt Portrait studio, London. The coloured plates were made by the Forbes Company, of Boston, from lithographs in the possession of Major William Wood, of Quebec.

Several scarce views have been copied from engravings in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Molson Macpherson, of Quebec, to whom the authors are greatly indebted. The services of the gentlemen who have contributed to the pages of this work, have been duly acknowledged in the text.

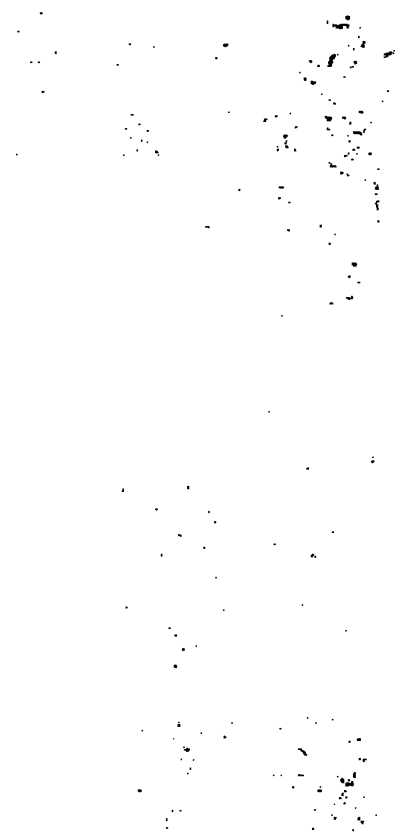
A. G. D.

N. E. D.



*Quebec from Citadel Tower of Parliament House.  
It is a photograph taken by W. J. G. in 1900.*







## CHAPTER I

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1608-1663

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### THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

JACQUES CARTIER — CHAMPLAIN — PIONEERS OF  
NEW FRANCE — FORT ST. LOUIS — MONTMAGNY —  
MADAME DE LA PELTRIE — MADAME D'AIGUILLON  
— LIFE IN THE FORT — THE JESUITS — THE  
SOVEREIGN COUNCIL — THE DRAMA IN QUEBEC

**T**HERE is not another city on the continent of America that can surpass Quebec in the grandeur of its situation, in the natural beauty of its surroundings, or in the glory of its past. In the history of the little city, the first pages of which were inscribed amidst much suffering and heroism at the foot of Cape Diamond, we find the foundation of the Canadian nationality. Centuries do not grow old in Quebec. Deeply graven upon the time worn rock is the record of those patriotic souls who toiled and suffered more than two hundred years ago. Bitter warfare has been waged, and many a momentous issue has been decided upon its heights, but each has been powerless to efface

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

the impress of Champlain. In most of the cities of the new world, the triumphant march of progress has been sufficient to obliterate every trace of their origin, but in the streets of Quebec, and in much of the life of to-day we may find the reflexion of all that has been.

Quebec, however, is a progressive city, but the deep reverence of her people for the days that are no more, has taught them that the spirit of the age is not incompatible with the memory of those who have gone before. Within the compass of this small work we are unable to dwell upon the picturesque, and oft times tragic, details, which marked the progress and development of New France, and we shall therefore rest content with broadly sketching its annals, giving prominence to those features which have given to Quebec its peculiar characteristics.

The first European who beheld Quebec in its pristine grandeur was Jacques Cartier, the famous navigator, a native of St. Malo. It was on the 14th of September, 1535, that he entered a little river flowing into the St. Lawrence, to which he gave the name of St. Croix, a river now known to us as the St. Charles. Upon the slope of a hill rising from the shore of this winding stream, stood the village of Stadacona, presided over by its warrior-chief, Donnacona. At a short distance, upon the heights, Cartier perceived other villages peopled by the Iroquois. These were the Ajoasté, Starnatam, Tailla ; and upon the border of the river stood the village of Stadin, with whose inhabitants he was afterwards to be on friendly terms.



## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

After having visited Hochelaga, which is to-day known as Montreal, Cartier returned to Stadaconé, where he resolved to spend the winter with his associates. In order to avoid a rupture with the Indians he adopted all the measures of defence that were possible. His ships found a shelter in the Lairet, a tributary of the St. Charles, on the left bank. At the confluence of the river he constructed a fort, mounted it with cannon, and encircled it with a palisade. These precautionary means had the effect of repressing the desire of the Indians to attack the French. From various indications, and from the conduct of the Indians in general, Cartier realized that any attempt to colonize the place at this time would be attended with extreme danger. He therefore resolved to return to France as soon as the navigation of the river was practicable. Before leaving the shores of this inhospitable country, which had robbed him of twenty-five of his companions, he desired to leave some evidence of his visit, which at the same time would establish for his sovereign the honour of the discovery of Canada. He accordingly set up the standard of the Cross at the place where he had spent the winter. By this sign future explorers would know that France had taken possession of the country, and had a valid title to it by the right of discovery. The means adopted by Cartier were in accordance with the provisions of international law, and disregard of this evidence would be considered as a cause for hostilities.

It was on Thursday, the 3rd of May, 1536, that Jacques Cartier planted the symbol of the Christian

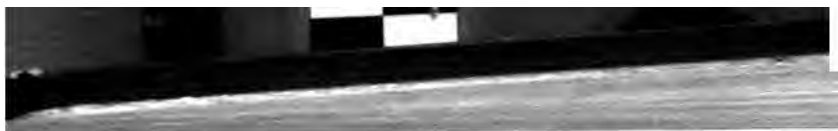
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religion on the banks of the Lairet. The cross was thirty-five feet in height, and over the intersection of the arms was placed a shield, the field of which was charged with the lilies of France. And above the shield there was a scroll bearing this inscription : *Franciscus Primus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Regnat*. Three days later Cartier returned to France, taking with him the great chief, Donnacona, who was never more to behold his native land.

In the year 1541, Cartier revisited Canada, and sought refuge at Charlesbourg Royal, (Cap Rouge) where the Marquis de Roberval had fortified himself with the intention of founding a colony. The emigrants he had brought over with him were, unfortunately, an ill-assorted class, taken from the prisons of France, from whom very little good could be expected.

Jacques Cartier undertook a fourth voyage to America, for the purpose of rescuing the Marquis de Roberval, whose efforts to establish a settlement had proved fruitless.

With the passing of Cartier and Roberval, there was an end to the misfortunes which France had to experience in her attempts to obtain a foot-hold in Canada ; and for a period of over half a century a deep silence fell over the whole region comprised between Stadaconé and Hochelaga. Even the Indians themselves had abandoned their villages, for when Samuel Champlain sighted Cape Diamond, sixty years later, he found naught but solitude and the ruins of the wooden fort constructed by Jacques-Cartier.



## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

Samuel Champlain was born at Brouage, in Saint-onge, about the year 1567. Before he came to Canada he had explored the Gulf of Mexico, and obtained fame as a navigator. He had also knowledge of the isthmus of Panama, and in the narrative of his voyages he suggests the possibility of a canal that would connect the waters of the Gulf with the ocean. This project, after three hundred years, is still unrealised.

It was in the year 1603 that Champlain first came to our shores as the lieutenant of Aymar de Chastes, viceroy of Canada, under Henry IV. After having studied the site of Tadoussac, which Chauvin de Tontuit had considered suitable for a permanent settlement, Champlain proceeded up the river, and cast anchor at the foot of Cape Diamond on the 22nd of June.

The elevated position of this immense rock, fortified nature, and the river so easily accessible, even for the largest vessels, filled Champlain with admiration. It is Quebec! the Indians told him; that is, the place where the river is blocked, or, at least, where it is so narrow that in the distance it has the appearance of being completely closed.

Five years later, as lieutenant of the viceroy, Champlain landed at Quebec, and on the 3rd of July, 1608, laid the foundation of the city, within a short distance of the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, in the lower town.

Soon after this act a modest building arose, styled the *Abitation de Québec*. This structure was enlarged by the addition of a storehouse for the merchandise of

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

France, and for the furs of Canada. In the meantime there were no settlers. Champlain, alone, was likely to remain, for his assistants and the sailors would return to their native land upon the first opportunity. This state of affairs was to last until some father of a family could be induced to cross the ocean to seek his fortune upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. In the course of time the first settlers arrived. These were Nicholas Pivert, Abraham Martin, Pierre Desportes, and their families, and a little later Louis Hébert, and his family landed at Quebec. These were the pioneers of New France.

Encouraged by Champlain, but often impeded by the mercantile companies which soon after appeared, they set about with zeal to found homes, and year by year they became more and more attached to the land of their adoption. Soon they had the pleasure of seeing their children given in marriage to men of good morals and to women of irreproachable character. The Recollects in 1615, and the Jesuits in 1625, blessed these marriages, the numerous offspring from which became proverbial.

Champlain lived in the midst of this little colony, assisted the people in their labours; urged them to cultivate the soil so as to derive subsistence therefrom; protected them from the exactions of the merchants or their agents, and was regarded by all as a father and friend—as the saviour of the country.

Fearing the approach of a powerful enemy, Champlain fortified himself to the best of his ability upon



## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

the heights of Cape Diamond, but nevertheless, he was forced to capitulate to the brothers Kertk, in 1629. After four years, when Quebec was restored to the French, Champlain returned to the city and lived for two years in the midst of his people and the friendly Indians.

From the heights of Fort St. Louis, which he now inhabited, he beheld with legitimate pride the development of the colony. Near the Fort could be seen the steeple of the Church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, which bore testimony to the fact that the Governor had fulfilled his vow to build a church under that name, should Quebec be restored to the French. Along the Beauport shore picturesque hamlets were grouped around the seigneurie of surgeon Robert Giffard, and on the borders of the Lairet, the Jesuits had commenced the construction of a modest building which was to serve as a residence for the community, and as a seminary for young Indian children. Agriculture commenced to prosper under the exertions of Robert Giffard who had brought over a number of settlers from Perche and Normandy, to add to the population which remained in Quebec after the capitulation of 1629. The colony was entering upon an era of prosperity, so that Champlain, who had bravely struggled in the face of the disappointments and hardships attending a new settlement, felt that he was about to reap the reward of his anxious labours. Providence, however, willed it otherwise, for he was called to his rest on Christmas day, 1635.

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At the time of the death of the first Governor of New France, Quebec was only a small village, consisting of a few houses on the Cape and in the vicinity of Côte St. Geneviève, with five or six unpretentious public buildings. The most important of these were the Parish Church and residence of the Jesuits, the Fort St. Louis, and the storehouse of the Hundred Associates. Eighty persons, including the religious orders, were the entire population of the city founded by Champlain.

Although the colony was numerically weak, its future was not without promise, on account of the sterling qualities and industry of the inhabitants. To further the cause of education, the Jesuits opened a college where boys were instructed in arts, science and letters. In the course of time, as a result of the "Relations of the Jesuits" becoming known in France, a serious effort was made to colonize Canada. The first fruit of the movement was the establishment of the Ursuline convent in Quebec in 1639, and the foundation of the Hospital under the direction of the Hospitalières. These two institutions which have exercised a beneficent influence, were founded by the zeal of two noble women, Madame de la Peltrie, and Madame d'Aiguillon, whose names are forever consecrated in the pages of Canadian history.

Until the year 1634 few settlers could be induced to leave France to try their fortune in the New World. The work of Robert Giffard in the direction of colonization was, therefore, remarkable. The people of Perche, amongst whom he sought for settlers, were



84  
Portrait of a man

Portrait of a man





**SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN**  
*Fondateur de Québec Capitale du Pays de Canada*  
1608







## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

devoted to the soil, and not given to seek adventure in foreign lands. Moreover, the prospect of crossing the ocean was not at that time inviting. However, he induced forty persons to leave their homes and strike out afresh in the New World, without knowing what would be the result of their enterprise. Emigrants continued to arrive from Perche, until within the space of thirty years one hundred and fifty families had settled upon the shores of New France.

Normandy also contributed its share to the population of Quebec, and sent over many of its sons, amongst whom were the *coureurs de bois*, and the interpreters. The Bretons were less adventurous, although one of the hardy settlers, Guillaume Couillard, the father of a large family, was a native of St-Malo. With the exception of a few isolated cases of drunkenness and profanity, which were immediately punished, the first settlers of Quebec appear to have led exemplary lives under the watchful eyes of Champlain and the spiritual directors. According to the evidence of Father Le Jeune, "The Fort St. Louis appeared to be a well regulated Academy." Life there was much the same as in a monastery. Each person regularly approached the sacraments, joined in the common prayers, and during meals they listened to the reading of some edifying work. Champlain also established the custom, which is still continued, of ringing the Angelus three times a day. This mode of living had a salutary effect upon the whole population, and the good words spoken by the Jesuits of the people

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

at this time, do not appear to have been exaggerated. The immediate successors of Champlain endeavoured to continue the work of the founder of Quebec, and in a measure they were successful. The Company of a Hundred Associates, never very powerful on account of its slender resources and the frequent resignation of its most influential members, still sent colonists to Quebec from time to time. In the arrivals from 1635 to 1641 we can trace nearly four hundred heads of families from Normandy, Perche and Poitou. These were men of rare courage and activity. They soon cleared the valley of the St. Lawrence, and laid the foundation of the parishes nearest to our cities. Quebec was the most favoured in this respect, since it was the most securely defended, and naturally regarded as the stronghold of the colony.

Montmagny succeeded Champlain, and under his regime material progress was made. The Grande Allée and other streets, were laid out under his direction. He improved the defences of the town, erected a Chateau within the fort, repaired defective buildings, and provided against attacks from the Indians.

The citizens also began to take pride in the appearance of their dwellings as the population increased, so that Quebec rapidly assumed the aspect of a thriving settlement. Great progress had been made since the foundation of Quebec forty years before. The presence of the soldiers in the Fort gave an air of importance to the place, and the Governor was always attended by a military escort. Father LeJeune refer-



## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

ring to Quebec at this time, says in effect : " We have a number of good resolute soldiers. It is a pleasure to see them go through their military exercises in time of peace, and to hear the noise of the musketry and cannon called forth by occasions of joy while our immense forests and mountains answer these salutes with echoes like rolling thunders, which have neither thunder bolt nor lightning. The bugle awakens us every morning, we see the sentinels take their post, and the guard is always well armed, and each squad has its day of duty. In a word, Quebec is guarded in time of peace as a well regulated post in time of war."

Governor Montmagny, who was a Knight of Malta, lived twelve years in Quebec. Under his administration the inhabitants, after repeated requests, obtained permission to trade in furs. This privilege had hitherto been reserved for the Company of a Hundred Associates, under letters patent. Montreal was founded during his regime ; a fort was built at Richelieu, and the Indians were appeased. The annalist of the Hotel Dieu thus describes the Governor : " He was very brave, very conciliatory, full of sympathy with the poor, zealous for religion, and fit to inspire the love of Christianity by the piety of his example." Encouraged by Montmagny, the inhabitants determined to build a church upon the site of the former edifice dedicated to Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. This church had been destroyed by fire on the 14th of June, 1640, together with the residence of the Jesuits and Champlain's Chapel, where the remains of the founder were laid. In one

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

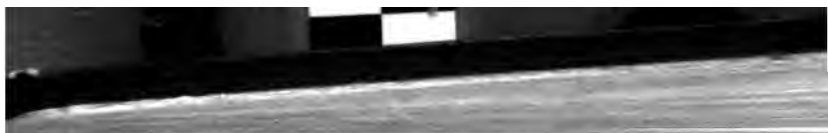
of the walls of the Chateau St. Louis, there had been inserted a stone bearing the arms of Malta. This historic stone is still preserved over the gateway of the courtyard of the Chateau Frontenac.

D'Ailleboust replaced Montmagny as Governor. Under a new commission from the King he created a Council composed of the Governor, the ex-Governor, the Superior of the Jesuits, until such time as there should be a Bishop, and two residents of the colony, to be elected every three years.

The first Council was composed of the Governor D'Ailleboust, Father Jérôme Lalemant, and the Sieurs Chauvigny, Godefroy and Giffard. The Council was empowered to enact local laws, to regulate questions concerning commerce, to decide the advisability of peace or war between the Indians, and to arbitrate the differences between private individuals.

One ordonnance passed by the Council, naming Jacques Boisdon, hotel keeper, to the exclusion of all others, is still of interest. It is dated the 19th of September, 1648: "The said Boisdon is to settle in the square in front of the Church so that all may go to this house to warm themselves. He is to keep no one in this house during High Mass, or during the sermon, catechism or vespers."

In 1651, the administration of justice was confided to special officers, the chief of whom was named *grand sénéchal*, and those under him were the *lieutenant-général*, the *lieutenant particulier*, and the *procureur fiscal*. Jean de Lauzon, the eldest son of the Governor,



### THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

was the first *grand sénéchal* of the country, Nicolas le Vieux, sieur de Hauteville, the first *lieutenant-général*, and Louis Théandre Chartier de Lotbinière, the first *procureur fiscal*.

Jean de Lauzon was chosen to succeed D'Ailleboust, in 1651, at a period of danger to the colony. The Iroquois were in a restless state, and after the departure of Montmagny, they threatened to destroy the French habitations. Too old to place himself at the head of the troops, and too much involved in the affairs of the Hundred Associates, to whom he had become indispensable, de Lauzon was manifestly displeasing to the people, and in consequence he resigned his office, and returned to France before the completion of his second term. Pierre Voyer, Viscount d'Argenson, assumed the reins of the Government of New France after the departure of de Lauzon.

His arrival in Quebec was the occasion of great public rejoicing. The Jesuits, especially, strove to make the reception a noteworthy event, by inviting the Governor to witness a drama, composed by one of the Fathers, and presented on the stage by the pupils of the College. This, however, is not the first record of a dramatic entertainment in the colony. On the 31st of December, 1646, in the presence of the Governor and the Jesuit Fathers, Corneille's masterpiece, *Le Cid*, was successfully presented in a room belonging to the Company of the Hundred Associates, situated in Ste. Anne street, and a second representation of this piece was given on the 16th of April, 1652.

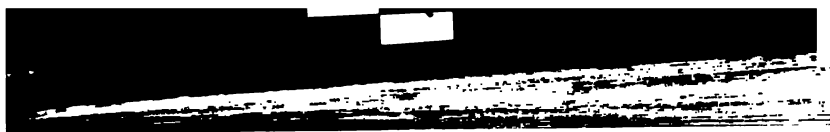
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Between the years 1645 and 1670 many other plays were presented by amateurs. Thus, on the 14th of September, 1651, we find a notice of a performance of Corneille's great work, *Heraclius*, and in 1659 a drama was produced in the Chapel of the Jesuits in honour of the arrival of Monseigneur de Pétrée. On the 21st of May, 1660, the pupils of the College performed a Latin piece composed by Father Pierson, representing the Passion. Under the régime of Frontenac, the *Nicodème* by Corneille, and the *Mithridate*, by Racine, were played in Quebec ; but when the question of the production of *Tartufe* was discussed in the days of Frontenac, Bishop St. Vallier manifested his opposition, and paid the sum of one hundred pistoles to the Governor who agreed that it should not be presented. The Intendant Jacques Raudot gave an elaborate representation of the *Les Quatre Saisons*, at the Palace, with a change of scene and costume for each act.

At the time of d'Argenson's arrival in 1658, tragedy had attained a high standard in France under Corneille, and it is not surprising that representations of his works were received with enthusiasm in Quebec.

The first performance before the new Governor was a Huron-Algonquin Drama, presented by the pupils of the College.

This dramatic representation was particularly striking on account of the strangeness of the costumes, and the diversity of the language. The young Governor and his attendants expressed themselves as deeply interested in the performance.



## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

Pierre de Voyer was named Governor of New France on the 25th of January, 1657, in the place of Jean de Lauzon, who had intrusted the Government to his son, Charles de Lauzon-Charny. As the Governor was to have come to Canada during the year of his nomination, de Lauzon resigned the command to d'Ailleboust. D'Argenson did not land in Quebec until the 11th of July, 1658, owing to the fact that during the previous year his vessel had run ashore on the coast of Ireland, on two occasions, and he was compelled to return to France. The new Governor was only thirty-two years of age, "but nevertheless," wrote Aubert de la Chesnaye, "The nobleness of his race, and the strictness of his conduct had won for him the confidence of M. de Lamoignon, the first President, and the influence of this high official secured for him the appointment."

The young Governor was charitably disposed towards all those placed under his command, but very severe in his own course of living. He was however, the slave of etiquette, in common with men of his station at that time, and we find that he was soon at variance with the Bishop on the question of the use of incense in the church, and also concerning the excommunication of a heretic prisoner. He also manifested a desire to interfere in other matters of purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Baron du Bois d'Avaugour succeeded d'Argenson, in August, 1661. He was brave, but obstinate, and soon became involved in a quarrel with the Bishop,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

particularly regarding the sale of intoxicants to the Indians. It was during his regime, in 1663, that those terrible earthquakes occurred in Canada, the description of which, after a lapse of two hundred and fifty years, cannot be read without a feeling of awe.

These disturbances of the earth at that time were regarded as the direct chastisement of heaven, and many who had remained callous to the teachings of the missionaries now turned an attentive ear to their ministrations.

D'Avaugour desired to extend the domination of the French in America. Thus he wrote: "And finally to plant the fleur de lys there, I see nothing better than to fortify Quebec by erecting a fort on the right on the other side of the river, and another on the left, near the River St. Charles, and support them with three thousand men. Quebec thus fortified may be regarded as the foundation stone of ten provinces, which, if fortified in the same manner as Quebec might be regarded as the assurance of one hundred others. In a word, if the King thinks of these ten provinces he may become the master of America."

The King paid no attention to the demands of D'Avaugour, and instead of sending three thousand men to New France, he sent a few families, and at the same time ordered the recall of the Governor.

At the instigation of Mgr. de Laval, M. de Mésy was nominated as the successor to D'Avaugour. The Bishop looked forward with confidence to the regime of de Mésy, but he was destined to be sadly dis-



## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

appointed. As soon as the Governor was installed in office, he began to quarrel with the Bishop upon the question of the sale of intoxicating liquor. The mind of the Governor was unevenly balanced, and he sowed discord on every side. He would probably have wrought great mischief in the colony, had he remained in his position. Before his death in 1665, he acknowledged his errors, and became reconciled with the Bishop.

The Company of a Hundred Associates had disappeared at the time of de Mézy's arrival, and by this fact New France fell under the direct authority of the King. This change, ardently desired by the people, produced excellent results.

The Government was now vested in the Sovereign Council, through which the laws of France were established on Canadian soil. The King granted to the Council ample powers, constituting it a final court of appeal. Public expenditure, the control of the fur trade, and traffic in general were under its jurisdiction, as well as the administration of criminal law, generally, and municipal affairs. In the exercise of its authority, the Council named a corporation for the city of Quebec, whose business had been conducted until this date by trustees. The citizens elected a mayor and two aldermen, but the Council perceiving that the working of this body was too costly and too complicated for the needs of a community of five hundred people, abolished the municipal council after it had been in existence five weeks.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Monseigneur de Montmorency-Laval, Bishop of Pétrée *in partibus*, came to Quebec in 1659, in the quality of Vicar Apostolic. Since the foundation of the city, fifty years before, the Jesuits alone had ministered to the spiritual needs of the colony. They realised that this state of affairs could not continue, and therefore they earnestly desired the presence of a Bishop in their midst. Mgr. de Pétrée immediately began to organize the diocese. In 1663 he opened the grand Seminary for the education of his clergy, and five years later he founded the Petit Seminary as a preparatory school for ecclesiastics.

Though the sphere of action was undoubtedly large, there were in reality not more than 2,500 christians in the whole of New France. There were, however, the Indians, to whom the Church had a mission. Continuing in their work, the Jesuits sought every opportunity to civilize and christianize these people. Not all these missionaries were destined to gain the crown of martyrdom, as the fathers Lalemant, Brébeuf, Jogues and Daniel had done, but they were qually zealous in the cause they had espoused.

The College of the Jesuits situated in the upper town was supported by the generosity of the Marquis de Gamache, and provided a liberal education for the youth of the colony.

In 1663 New France had become a Province, and Quebec was its principal town or city. And yet at that time there were only about twenty houses, and not more than five hundred inhabitants in Quebec. To



## THE CRADLE OF NEW FRANCE

this number the religious communities contributed one hundred and fifty — The Seminary 12, the Jesuits 58, the Ursulines 47, and the Hotel Dieu 41.

The Sovereign Council held its first Session on the 18th of September, 1663. Its members were composed of the Bishop of Pétrée, the Governor Mésy, Gaudais-Dupont, a Commissioner sent by the King to take possession of New France, Rouer de Villeray, Juchereau de la Ferté, Ruelle d'Auteuil, Le Gardeur de Tilly, d'Amours, Jean Bourdon, Procureur Général, and Jean Baptiste Peuvret du Mesnu, clerk.

Among the other important personages in Quebec at that time were surgeon Jean Madry, Claude Charron, d'Angoville, major of the garrison at Fort St. Louis, de Mazé, de la Tesserie, Denys, Chartier de Lotbinière, la Mère de l'Incarnation and Madame de la Peltrie.

Many families at that time bore names with which we are familiar in Quebec to day, for example : Couillard, Maheu, Fontaine, Lemieux, Roger, Lémelin, Levasseur, Dion, Lefebvre, Amiot, Hébert, Gaudin, Dérome, Fillion, Lambert, Norman, Ratté. All these families we encounter as the history of Quebec proceeds, but greatly increased in numbers and vitality.







## CHAPTER II

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1663-1690

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### A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

TRACY—TALON—CARIGNAN REGIMENT—FRONTENAC  
AND THE INTENDANT—POPULATION OF QUEBEC  
—CLERGY—CONVENTS—SIEGE OF QUEBEC BY  
PHIPS—CHATEAU ST. LOUIS—NOTABLE FAMILIES  
IN QUEBEC

**T**HE year 1665 opened auspiciously in Quebec. First, there was the arrival of four companies of the Carignan Regiment, comprising between twelve and thirteen hundred men. Then came the Governor de Courcelles, and the Intendant Talon, with eight companies of soldiers in their train, and, later, two hundred and twelve persons of title or fortune. In a single year the population of New France had doubled, and it was evident that the mother country was beginning to manifest a deeper interest in her possessions. The character and ability of the men in authority at this time were of a high standard. The Governor and the Intendant were each unusually gifted men, and

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

competent to administer the affairs of the colony, while the Marquis de Tracy, who had been named Lieutenant General of the King in America, was an able administrator, a brave soldier, and a scholar. The annalist of the Hotel Dieu, in describing the character of these three men, says : — “ They were of prepossessing appearance, of great intelligence and prudence, and were eminently fitted to convey a proper idea of royal power and majesty.” It is not surprising, therefore, to find that under the guidance of these three men, the government of the country was established upon a sound basis, and that Quebec entered upon an era of prosperity.

Talon undoubtedly contributed more than any other Intendant towards the progress of New France. He honestly endeavoured to promote the welfare of the people. He placed himself at the head of every movement in the direction of the public good ; caused the land to be cleared ; encouraged the cultivation of flax ; built a tannery and a brewery ; and endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the West Indies. He was particularly zealous in promoting the cause of education, and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to be present at the public examinations of the pupils of the Jesuits, and to take part in philosophical discussions. Talon served his country as Intendant for five years—from 1665 to 1668, and from 1670 to 1672. At the time of his arrival in Quebec the population of the colony was 3215, and in 1672, it was almost twice that number. In the year 1670, nearly seven hundred



## A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

births were registered, and the people were becoming more and more attached to their new homes. Great regret was shown when the Intendant left the shores of New France. "M. Talon is leaving", wrote Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, "and returns to France, to the sorrow and loss of all Canada, for since he has been here in his capacity of Intendant the country has prospered more than at any time since the French have inhabited it."

Jacques Duchesneau was appointed to succeed Talon. His commission invested him with the title of President of the Sovereign Council, an office which had hitherto been filled by the Governor. Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, a man of dominant spirit, was the Governor of New France at this time, and in the natural progress of events interminable disputes arose between the Governor and the Intendant touching questions of precedence, which disturbed the harmony of the government. For a long time there had been a difference of opinion between Frontenac and Monseigneur de Laval, regarding the sale of intoxicants to the Indians, and as Duchesneau supported the action of the Bishop, the relations between the Governor and the Intendant became even more strained. Frontenac seized every opportunity to show his resentment until, for the sake of preserving internal peace, the Government of France ordered the recall of both the Governor and the Intendant in the year 1682. This act was most unfortunate for the colony, for at the time the Iroquois were assuming a war like attitude towards the inhab-

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

itants, and no one was more able to suppress these savage tribes than Frontenac.

Lefebvre de la Barre was named Governor of New France, and de Meulle succeeded Duchesneau as Intendant. The Governor was old, and utterly unfit to lead an army against such wily foes as the Iroquois. Nevertheless, he made hasty preparations and led his men to the attack, but neither he nor his troops won glory in the campaign. At the end of the year, de la Barre was replaced by the Marquis de Denonville, a man of great courage. His intentions towards the colony were good, but in carrying out the instructions of the King, he adopted a severe policy in dealing with the Indians. The horrible massacre of Lachine was one of the unforeseen consequences of Denonville's administration.

The residence of the Governor and his family was at the Château St. Louis, but apartments were set aside therein for the deliberations of the Sovereign Council. The affairs of the colony had now assumed sufficient importance to demand a separate building for the use of the Council. To facilitate the public service de Meulle proposed to purchase the old brewery erected by Talon, and convert it into a palace for the Intendant, with accommodation for the Sovereign Council. The situation of this building was advantageous. It was near the shores of the St. Charles and the St. Lawrence and only a short distance from the Upper Town, and there were suitable grounds adjoining for gardens which could be purchased from Talon.



## A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

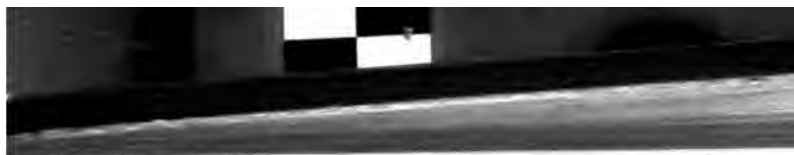
It is more than two hundred years ago since the brewery was converted into a palace. The palace in its turn has long since disappeared, and the building is again occupied as a brewery. About this time de Meulle returned to France and was replaced by Jean Bochard de Champigny.

On the fifth of August, 1682, nearly all the Lower Town was destroyed by fire. According to a chronicle of the day "more riches were destroyed during that sad night, than the whole of Canada possessed eight years later."

On the 15th of October, 1689, the boom of cannon and the fire of musketry announced the arrival of the Count de Frontenac, who for the second time had been appointed Governor of New France. At eight o'clock in the evening a torchlight procession was formed headed by members of the Sovereign Council and prominent citizens, to conduct the Governor to his residence. The city was illuminated and all the religious and civil corporations assembled to give an enthusiastic welcome to Frontenac. At this time the lower town had recovered from the disastrous effects of the fire; the houses had been rebuilt, and a notable addition was the little church afterwards called Notre-Dame de la Victoire, which was now complete.

Twelve months passed under Frontenac's regime without the occurrence of any noteworthy event. The Governor was still vigorous, his orders were obeyed, his word was respected, and he enjoyed the confidence of the people.





*Notre-Dame des Victoires.*





## A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

dedicated to Notre-Dame de la Victoire, and the ladies fulfilled their vows by making a pilgrimage to its sanctuary.

Wonderful progress had been made in the city since the death of Champlain. Martin, Couillard, Nicolet, Marsolet, Bourdon, Morin, were no more, but their families were still represented. The offspring of these hardy settlers could already count their grandchildren.

The population had also been increased by a steady tide of immigration, which commenced in the days of Talon. From the regiment of Carignan many officers and soldiers of worth had chosen New France as their home. Some of the officers were of noble families, and by forming alliances with the middle classes had given an elegance of manner to Quebec society, besides having had the effect of preserving the purity of the French language. Father Charlevoix during his visit to the capital of New France in 1720, wrote that the French spoken by the Canadians was remarkably pure and that no accent was noticeable.

It is reasonable to suppose that similar conditions prevailed in Quebec during the second regime of Frontenac, since the leading families were still living in the days of Charlevoix, and there had been little immigration since the death of Frontenac, to counteract the tendency of the times. A glance at the parish registers shows that the number of births was sufficient to account for the increase in the population, and it is a fact worthy of note at this time, that one may

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

turn over page after page, recording the entries for several months without finding the notice of a single burial.

The population of Quebec at this time was 1,500, while that of the whole of the colony was about 10,000. The peculiar advantages offered by the country to those who were tempted to seek adventure or fortune, probably accounted for the small number who settled down to a quiet life in Quebec. Under the vigorous policy of Talon, commerce had received an impetus which was steadily developed by his successors. Regular intercourse had been established between New France and the West Indies, Madeira, and several countries of America. An association of Fur Traders had been formed by Quebec merchants, the most prominent of whom were Pachot, Hazeur and Macart. Cod fishing was another industry which proved remunerative, and the fisheries of the St. Lawrence yielded a substantial revenue. One of the most wealthy merchants was d'Amours, who owned large fisheries at Matane. The land, too, was well adapted for agricultural purposes, and the forests abounded in valuable timber. Canada, with its numerous and varied resources, was beginning to be known as a land worthy of possession, and already England was looking towards it with covetous eyes. The British had endeavoured to capture the prize in 1690, and again in 1711, when Walker's powerful fleet was destroyed before it entered the channel, but the time for separation from France had not yet come.

Quebec was the seat of Government for the



#### A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

colony, and also the residence of the Governor, the Intendant and the officers of state, of the members of the Sovereign Council, and the petty officers of the courts. The two other courts in Quebec were the Court of Prévôté and the Admiralty Court. The professions were well represented by Doctors, Notaries and Architects.

The Sovereign Council which was charged with the administration of the affairs of the colony, was composed of the Governor, the Bishop, the Intendant and several councillors, all residing in Quebec. The dean, or first councillor, in 1690, was Louis Rouer de Villeray, a man highly regarded, especially by the Bishop, to whom he was devoted. "He was one of those," wrote Frontenac, "who without wearing the garb of the Jesuits, had nevertheless taken their vows." Among the other councillors of note we find the name of Nicolas Dupont, sieur de Neuville and Mathieu d'Amours, sieur de Chauffours, the father of a large family all of whom married well.

It is interesting to note that of the five councillors present at the first meeting of the Sovereign Council held in the year 1663, four were still members in the year 1690, namely Villeray, d'Amours and Ruette d'Auteuil. The fourth member was le Gardeur de Tilly, the father of the illustrious family bearing the titles of Repentigny, de Beauvais, de l'Isle, and de Courtemanche. Charles Denis de Vitré, a fifth councillor, was one of the children of Simon Denis, sieur

### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

de la Trinité. Paul Denis, sieur de Saint-Simon, was provost Marshal, an office which had been established in 1667. The court presided over by Denis was under the jurisdiction of the Marshal of France, and was really a military court. The rank of " Prévost " was equal to that of sheriff in the present day.

The notable families in Quebec at this time included Ruette d'Auteuil, solicitor general to the King ; Claude de Bermen, judge and civil lieutenant ; Charles de Monseignat, secretary to Frontenac, to whom we are indebted for a detailed account of the military operations of 1690 ; Pierre Bécart, sieur de Grandville, who was taken prisoner by the English whilst engaging the fleet under Phips, George Regnard du Plessis, Treasurer of the Marine ; Paul Dupuis, seigneur of Goose Island, and King's procureur for the Prévôté : Michel Le Neuf, sieur de la Vallière et de Beaubassin ; Jean-Baptiste Couillard de l'Espinay, lieutenant of the Admiralty ; Charles-Gaspard Piot de l'Angloiserie, King's lieutenant and chevalier de St. Louis ; René Chartier de Lotbinière, lieutenant of the Prévôté ; François Prévost, major and commanding officer of the Château St. Louis ; Gervais Beaudoin, physician of the Ursulines ; Timothé Roussel, physician of the Hôtel-Dieu, etc., etc. The merchant class was represented by Charles Perthuis, Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, François Hazeur, Denis Riverin, François Viennay-Pachot, Guillaume Bouthier, Jean Sébille, Nicolas Volant, Jean Gobin, Pierre Têtu du Tilly, Raymond du Bosc, Simon Soumande, Charles Macart

#### A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

and Denis Roberge. The parish registers of 1690 contain many important entries. On the 21st of November the marriage is recorded of Philippe Rigaud de Vaudreuil to Louise Elizabeth de Joybert, daughter of Pierre de Joybert, sieur de Marsan. Mademoiselle de Joybert was born in Fort Gemsek, on the River St. John, New Brunswick, where her father was in command. After her removal to Quebec she entered the Ursuline Convent as a pupil, at the same time as Mlle de Brisay, the daughter of the Marquis Denonville. The Marquise de Vaudreuil was a lady of remarkable beauty, and greatly beloved by the people of Quebec for her many acts of kindness. In later years she had the honor of instructing the grand children of the King of France. Mlle de Brisay de Denonville, also a pupil of the Ursulines, became a Carmélite nun after the return of her family to France.

The clergy of Quebec were composed of religious and secular priests. Of the sixty who remained in Quebec, only two were Canadians. The priests attached to the Seminary exercised, for the most part, the duties of curés in the country.

The College of the Jesuits had been established for over half a century. The faculty was composed of fifteen members, and a course of study was prescribed which gave prominence to mathematics and physical science. The young Canadian, therefore, received a practical education which specially qualified him for the duties of his station.

The second body of teachers was the Recollet

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Fathers, who resided at the convent of Notre Dame des Anges, upon the shores of the St. Charles.

In the Ursuline Convent many changes had taken place. None of the first members were living in 1690. The Community was composed at this time of twenty-four professed nuns and six novices, all of whom were of the best families.

In the Hôtel Dieu, one of the nuns who had seen the foundation of the Hospital, in 1639, was still living. Her name was Mère Marie Forestier de St. Bonaventure, and at this time she had been a nun for sixty-six years. Her death occurred eight years later. There were twenty-three professed nuns and one novice in the Hôtel Dieu in 1690.

The little Hospital of the Poor, in charge of the Sisters of the Congregation, was situated in the Upper Town. Its affairs were managed by a committee of laymen. The General Hospital founded in 1693 by Monseigneur de Saint Vallier, continued the work of the Sisters of the Congregation.

At the time of the arrival of Frontenac the Chateau St. Louis and the walls of the fort were in a ruinous condition. In 1693 the Governor rebuilt the fort, and constructed a redoubt, which he named Cape Diamond Redoubt. In 1694 the Chateau was demolished and a new building with a second story was erected upon the old foundations, with the addition of a wing. The large wing which is shown upon some of the plans was not constructed until 1723. From this date until the cession of the country to England, only slight



#### A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

repairs were made to the Chateau, but much money had been expended upon the walls, as will be seen in the chapter devoted to the fortifications.

The first Fort St. Louis was constructed by Champlain in 1620, and inhabited by him from 1628 to 1629, and from 1633 to 1635. The first Chateau St. Louis was built by Montmagny and afterwards inhabited by the Governors D'Ailleboust, Lauzon, D'Argenson, D'Avaugour, de Mésy, de Courcelles, Frontenac, de la Barre, Denonville, and was demolished by Frontenac during his second term of office. The second Chateau was inhabited by Frontenac, Callières, Vaudreuil, Beauharnois, la Galissonnière, Jonquière, Duquesne, and Vaudreuil-Cavagnal.

The first Marquis de Vaudreuil, Callières, Frontenac, and Jonquière died in the Château, and were buried in the Recollet Church.

After the fire in 1796 the remains of the former Governors were translated to the Cathedral. The remains of Governor de Mésy, who also died in the Château were deposited in the cemetery of the poor, belonging to the Hotel-Dieu, in accordance with the wish expressed by him shortly before he died.







## CHAPTER III

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1690-1725

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### QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

VAUDREUIL — WRECK OF BRITISH FLEET — BISHOP  
LAVAL AND HIS SUCCESSOR — THE SEMINARY OF  
QUEBEC — THE RECOLLETS AND THE JESUITS —  
DESCRIPTIONS OF QUEBEC — CHARLEVOIX — KALM  
— POPULATION OF QUEBEC — ITS STREETS AND  
INHABITANTS

**F**RONTENAC lived eight years after the siege of Quebec by Phips. His two most formidable adversaries, the English and the Iroquois, continued hostilities, although repulsed on every side. During these years the French, who were ever on the alert, had frequent opportunities to display their valour. Le Moine de Bienville, Vuault de Varennes, fought bravely and checked the progress of the invaders. The expeditions of the sieurs de Mantet, de Courtemanche and de la Noue against the Agniers inspired the English with a salutary dread. But when Frontenac

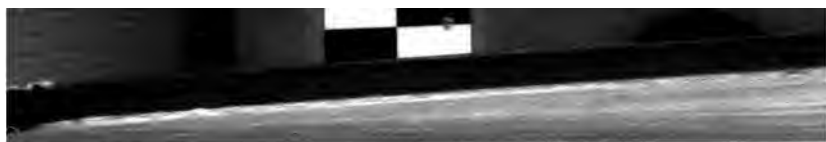
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

died he had not wholly succeeded in taming the ferocious Iroquois.

Hector de Callières, Frontenac's successor, was at the head of affairs for only four years—from 1699 to 1703,—and there is nothing of particular interest to record. The historian Ferland says that he left behind him the reputation of having been an excellent general, an honest man and a true friend of the country in which he had spent the greater portion of his life.

In 1705 the Marquis Philippe de Vaudreuil assumed the Government of the country in the presence of three Intendants :—Beauharnois, who was leaving office, and the joint Intendants, Jacques Raudot, and his son Antoine, who were entering upon their duties. It was during Vaudreuil's administration, in the year 1711, that the fleet under Admiral Walker was wrecked off Egg Island, on its way to besiege Quebec. This terrible disaster, so unfortunate for the enemy, had the effect of arousing the inhabitants to consider their unprotected position. During the following year a subscription of fifty thousand écus was raised by the people to surround the town with a wall. The inhabitants had suggested a similar course some time before, but M. de Beaucourt pretended that it would be far better for the citizens to sharpen their swords.

Like all his predecessors, Vaudreuil had constantly to make provisions to withstand the assaults of the Indians. In this difficult task he displayed much zeal. He was a man of valour and was respected by the Indians, and his irreproachable conduct and untiring



### QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

energy made his name dear to the Canadians. There were few events of an unfortunate nature during his administration. Vaudreuil died in the Château St. Louis on the 10th of October, 1725.

The death of Monseigneur de Laval in 1706, deprived New France of one of her most illustrious figures. For many years the noble and saintly prelate had been unable to fulfill the active duties of his office which he had resigned to Monseigneur de Saint Vallier, but he had never ceased to take a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of the colony, so that his life was a useful one until its close. We have seen that, shortly after his arrival in Quebec, Monseigneur de Laval had undertaken the construction of two seminaries, but it was not until 1698 that the stone building was complete which served as a residence for the ecclesiastics and the pupils under their charge. On the 6th of October, 1688, the doors of the Little Seminary were thrown open to the youth of the colony. There were sixty pupils admitted during the first year. The boys of the Seminary wore a costume similar to that worn to-day, namely, a blue coat with a sash. The pupils who were destined for the priest-hood, served in the choir of the Cathedral. They wore under their surplice a red cassock, with a camail of the same material. On the 25th of November, 1701, the Little Seminary, which had cost the Bishop so much labour, was destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt without delay, but within the space of four years it was again consumed by the flames. This time, however, the citizens came to the assistance of

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

the Bishop, and at the time of his death he had the consolation of seeing the completion of a new building which was to last for many years.

It would require many chapters to recount all the good deeds of Monseigneur de Laval, or to give a just estimate of his noble work. When he first undertook the direction of the spiritual affairs of the colony, the Church in Canada was in its infancy and without any form of organization. It was an exceedingly difficult task, but he brought to the work he had undertaken both energy and ability. It required a firm hand to establish authority in a new country where discipline was unknown, and where extraordinary powers were perforce given to individuals that would not even have been suggested under more settled conditions. In the pursuance of his policy Mgr. de Laval naturally came into conflict with various elements of opposition, and in consequence, even to this day, there are those who have not hesitated to censure the line of action which the Bishop followed. However, the impartial historian, with the light which is now thrown upon the history of the times, a light which has compelled even the most conservative to revise their judgment both of men and of events, must admit that Mgr. de Laval was the one man who could successfully establish the Church in Canada, and the perfection of the organization which he left at his death, is sufficient justification of his numerous acts.

The Recollets resumed their labors in 1670 and took up their abode in their former convent of Notre



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

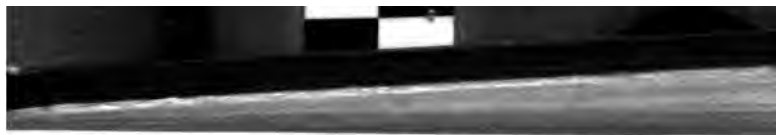
the Bishop and in the absence of any consolation of any kind, the Bishop which was a great relief to him.

It was then that the Bishop of Rome to recount all  
what he had done in his life, or to give a just  
account of his life. When he first understood  
the Bishop of Rome, he was of the color  
of the Bishop of Rome.

He was then that the Bishop of Rome to recount all  
what he had done in his life, or to give a just  
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J. H. H. H. H. H.







## QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

Dame des Anges, which had been entirely rebuilt. The Jesuits College was still the great centre of education and many priests and laymen of distinction had been trained within its walls. When the Abbé de Saint Vallier came to Quebec in 1686 he found the organization of the various institutions highly satisfactory, and he said that if he could continue the good work carried on by the Bishop he would deem himself happy.

Monseigneur de Saint Vallier presided over the building of the church in the Lower Town in 1688, and founded the General Hospital at his own cost. The Bishop's Palace at the top of Mountain Hill was built during his residence in Quebec. Several of the *mandements* which he composed are read in our churches even to this day. Four synods were held during his term of office. The first in Quebec, on the 9th of November, 1690; the second at Montreal, on the 10th and 11th of March, 1694; the third in Quebec, on the 27th of February, 1698; and the fourth in Quebec, on the 8th of October, 1700.

Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was an able administrator, and his episcopacy exceeded in duration the terms of any of his successors. He died at the General Hospital on the evening of the 25th of December, 1728, surrounded by his beloved nuns, to whom he left this recommendation, worthy of his noble heart: "My daughters, forget me after my death, but do not forget my poor." The last wish of the dying prelate was only half fulfilled, because the Hospitaliers could not forget their generous founder. As to the poor, it

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is the mission of their lives to care for them, and the entire population of Quebec ever since the days of the good Bishop have always been willing to bear witness to their devotion to the cause they have espoused.

On his first arrival at Quebec, in 1672, the Count de Frontenac wrote to the Minister in France :—

“ Nothing seemed so beautiful and magnificent to me as the site of the town of Quebec, which could not be better placed even were it some day to become the capital of a great empire. But it seems to me that hitherto a great error has been committed in allowing the houses to be built according to the whim of individuals and without any order, because in establishments such as this which may some day become very considerable, one should, it seems to me, think not only of the present condition in which one lives but also of that which may come.”

Frontenac therefore insisted that the streets should follow regular lines, especially in the Upper Town where the lack of symmetry was most noticeable. He gave his own name to Buade street, and when Charlevoix came to Quebec fifty years later, he found the streets following regular lines, and the names which they then bore have been scrupulously handed down to our own times. Charlevoix was not less impressed than Frontenac by the magnificent situation of Quebec. He wrote :—

“ I am going to say something about Quebec. All the descriptions that I have read are so imperfect, that I am sure you will be pleased to receive a true picture of the Capital of New France. It deserves to be better known, if only for the singularity of its



### QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

situation. It is the only town in the world that can boast of a harbour in fresh water at one hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and capable of containing one hundred ships, and it is situated near the most navigable river in the world."

Peter Kalm, in his "Travels," gives this interesting description of the city :

"The shores of the river become more sloping as you come nearer to Quebec. To the northward appears a high ridge of mountains. About two French miles and a half from Quebec the river becomes very narrow, the shores being within the reach of a musket shot from each other. The country on both sides was sloping, hilly, covered with trees, and had many small rocks; the shore was stony. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon we happily arrived at Quebec. The city does not appear till one is close to it, the prospect being intercepted by a high mountain on the south side. However, part of the fortifications appear at a good distance, being situated on the same mountain. As soon as the soldiers who were with us saw Quebec, they called out, that all those who had not been there before should be ducked, if they did not pay something to release themselves. This custom even the Governor General of Canada is obliged to submit to, on his first journey to Montreal. We did not care when we came in sight of this town to be exempted from this old custom, which is very advantageous to the rowers as it enables them to spend a very merry evening on their arrival at Quebec, after their troublesome labour.

"Quebec, the chief city of Canada, lies on the western shore of the St. Lawrence, close to the water's edge, on a neck of land, bounded by that

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ river on the east side, and by the St. Charles on the  
“ north side ; the mountain, on which the town is  
“ built, rises still higher on the south side, and behind  
“ it begin great pastures..... The upper city lies  
“ above the other, on a high hill, and takes up five or  
“ six times the space of the lower though it is not  
“ quite so populous. The mountain, on which the  
“ upper city is situated, reaches above the houses of  
“ the lower city. Notwithstanding the latter are three  
“ or four stories high, and the view, from the palace,  
“ of the lower city, (part of which is immediately  
“ under it) is enough to cause a swimming of the  
“ head.”

Charlevoix was a keen observer, and as he lived among the people for many years, his opinion deserves weight. We therefore quote another passage from one of his letters.

“ But we find here a little chosen World, which  
“ wants nothing to make an agreeable Society. A  
“ Governor-General with his Attendants, Nobility,  
“ Officers of the Army, and Troops : An Intendant  
“ with an upper Council, and the inferior Jurisdictions :  
“ A Commissary of the Marine : A Grand Provost :  
“ A Grand Surveyor of Highways, and a Grand Master  
“ of the Waters and Forests whose Jurisdiction is  
“ certainly the most extensive in the world : Rich  
“ Merchants, or who live as if they were such : A  
“ Bishop and a numerous Seminary : Recollets and  
“ Jesuits : Three Societies of Maidens, well composed :  
“ Circles as brilliant as in any other place, at the  
“ Governor's, and the Intendant's Ladies. Here seems  
“ to me to be every thing for all Sorts of People to pass  
“ their Time very agreeably. And so they do in reality,  
“ and every one endeavours to contribute what they



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“ can towards it. They play, they make Parties of  
“ Pleasure, in Summer, in Chariots, or Canoes ; in  
“ Winter, in Sledges on the Snow, or skating on the ice.  
“ Shooting is much followed ; Gentlemen find this  
“ their only Resource to live plentifully. The News  
“ current is but little, because the Country furnishes  
“ scarce any, and the News from Europe comes all  
“ together ; but this affords Conversation for a great  
“ Part of the Year ; They make Political Remarks on  
“ things past, and raise Conjectures on future Events :  
“ The Sciences and the fine Arts have their Turn, and  
“ Conversation never grows dull. The Canadians, that  
“ is to say, the Creoles of Canada, breathe at the Birth  
“ an Air of Liberty, which makes them very agreeable  
“ in the Commerce of Life ; and our Language is  
“ nowhere spoken with greater Purity.

“ There is nobody rich here, and 'tis a Pity, for  
“ they love to live generously, and no one thinks of  
“ laying up Riches. They keep good Tables, if their  
“ Fortune will afford it, as well as dress handsomely ;  
“ if not, they retrench the Expense of their Table to  
“ bestow it on Dress, and indeed we must allow that  
“ our Creoles become their Dress. They are all of good  
“ Stature, and have the best Complexion in the World  
“ in both Sexes. A pleasant Humour, and agreeable  
“ and polite Manners are common to all ; and Clown-  
“ ishness, either in Language or Behaviour, is not  
“ known among them.”

In the time of Charlevoix the population of Quebec was less than three thousand souls, including the members of all the religious orders.

The following table shows the population of Quebec and of the whole of Canada at the dates here given.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

	Quebec	Canada
1666 .....	547.....	3,800
1681 .....	1,381.....	9,677
1698 .....	1,988.....	15,355
1716 .....	2,500.....	20,531

At this time the town contained only eighteen streets, the chief, and most populous ones being called : Sault au Matelot ; de Meulles and Champlain ; St. Louis ; Sous le Fort ; de la Montagne ; Notre Dame ; du Palais, or St. Nicholas ; Couillard. There were only ten streets in the Upper Town : St. Louis ; St. Joseph ; St. Jean ; Ste. Anne ; du Fort ; des Pauvres ; des Jardins ; Buade ; Couillard ; du Jardin, and du Fort. St. Louis street commenced at the Chateau and ended at the residence of Louis Roer d'Artigny, the special lieutenant of Prévoté. Amongst the most prominent persons residing on St. Louis street were Dr. Michel Sarrazin, Councillor of the Superior Council, Eustache Chartier de Lotbinière, Councillor, and the demoiselles des Meloizes, his sisters in law ; Hilaire Bernard de la Rivière, usher of the Council, and Surveyor ; Canon Thierry Hazeur ; Noël Levasseur, sculptor ; Marie Catherine Ruelle d'Auteuil, widow of M. de Celles. There were fifty one dwellings on the street and two hundred and fifty inhabitants.

Buade Street was the fashionable street, *par excellence*. Amongst its principal residents were Claude de Bermen, sieur de la Martinière, first councillor of the Superior Council ; Charles de Monseignat, controller



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of the Marine and receiver of the Domaine ; Henri Hiché, merchant ; Madame Denis, widow of M. de la Vallière ; Jean Vergeant, dit Prénoveau, sergeant of the troops. Couillard Street extended from the house of the sieur de Belleville, probably situated at the foot of the present St. Famille Street, to the cemetery of the Hotel Dieu. This quarter was inhabited by eighteen families, ship carpenters, coopers, soldiers and labourers. Des Pauvres Street commenced at the Cathedral, corresponding with the present Fabrique Street and extending to part of St. John Street. Chaussegros de Léry, the engineer, lived in this street near the Parish Church. Jean Chandelier, an inn-keeper ; Jean Baptiste Brassard, the beadle ; a mason, a shoemaker, and an armourer also resided there. In that part of St. Jean Street which commenced at the Hotel Dieu, there were two English residents, Thomas le Golden, a labourer, and John Willy, a shoemaker. Paul Denis de St. Simon, a councillor, a merchant, and a blacksmith, resided in the same quarter.

The St. Nicolas suburb, or Palais quarter, was inhabited by carters, roofers, masons, blacksmiths and port wardens.

The streets in the Lower town, six in number, were called, de la Montagne ; de Meulles and Champplain ; Cul-de-sac ; Notre Dame ; Sault au Matelot, and Sous le Fort.

In Sault au Matelot lived Charles Denis de St. Simon, grand Provost of the Marshals of France ; Jean Maillou, architect ; Vital Caron, mariner and merchant ;





*St. John, N.S.*

*St. John Street.*

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#### QUEBEC AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS

François Perrot, Etienne Mirabeau, Etienne Thibierge, Gabriel Greyssac, Pierre Haimard, Pierre Perreault dit Dresil, Pierre Baraguet and Louis Gosselin. The notary Rageot, M. de Lino, the King's procurator, Jean Baptiste Couillard l'Espinay, lieutenant of the troops, resided in this quarter.

The Parish, at this time comprised both the Upper and Lower Towns and the Suburbs, la Canardière, St. Jean Suburb, la Petite Rivière and Saint-Michel. The latter place was the favourite promenade of the directors and pupils of the seminary. Seven families only were grouped along the St. Charles river forming a population of forty four.

The names of several families of that period are still borne by citizens of Quebec to-day. Then as now, we find the names of Alary, Amiot, Aubert, Baby, Beaudoin, Bergeron, Bernier, Blondeau, Bonneau, Bouchard, Boucher, Bourget, Brousseau, Bruneau, Brunet, Bureau, Caron, Casgrain, Charest, Charland, Chaussegros de Léry, Constantin, Côté, Couillard, Dassilva, Deguise, Desjardins, Deslauriers, Dion, Drouin, Ducharme, Dufresne, Dumontier, Fontaine, Gagnon, Gosselin, Gourdeau, Guillot, Hamel, Huot, Jolicoeur, Laberge, Lacasse, Lafrance, Languedoc, Langevin, Lemieux, Lemoine, Lesage, Lessard, Levasseur, Lortie, Malouin, Marois, Montambault, Moreau, Morin, Martineau, Pampalon, Parent, Pelletier Perreault, Proulx, Racine, Renaud, Robitaille, Rousseau, Routier, Samson, Sasseville, Tourangeau, Vallée, Vallière, Vermette, Voyer.





## CHAPTER IV

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1725-1759

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### THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

THE INTENDANTS AND THEIR WORK — RAUDOT — HOC-  
QUART — LA GALISSONNIERE — LIFE IN QUEBEC  
— THE LAST FRENCH GOVERNOR — OFFICIAL  
CORRUPTION — BIGOT AND HIS ASSOCIATES

**T**HE Marquis de Vaudreuil was succeeded by the Marquis de Beauharnois as Governor, on the 11th of June, 1726. He came to Quebec at the same time as Dupuy, who replaced Michel Bégon as Intendant.

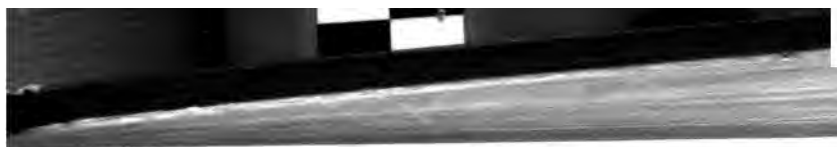
Since the days of Talon there had been seven Intendants, and in the work of each we find some achievement in the interest of the people. The office of Intendant was a peculiar one, and diplomacy was often necessary to preserve harmony in the government. Hitherto, although there had been friction occasionally, the Intendants appear to have had the welfare of the colony at heart. Quebec was soon to realise how shamefully the office could be abused, and the darkest days of New France, which brought about her

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downfall, may be traced directly to the exercise for evil, of the power vested in the last of her Intendants. The only instance of a joint appointment was when Antoine and Jacques Raudot were named Intendants. These two men were particularly successful in conducting the affairs entrusted to them. The elder Raudot reserved for himself the administration of justice, the police and general business, while his son undertook the control of marine and commerce. The firm stand taken by Antoine Raudot in simplifying the procedure in the courts ; in diminishing the jurisdictions and in putting an end to the vexatious proceedings of pettifoggers, earned for him the gratitude of the inhabitants. Raudot, the younger, improved the financial condition of the colony and aided commerce by consolidating the military and commercial establishments. With a desire to curb the mania for trading with the Indians he encouraged the people to follow agricultural pursuits.

In the history of the Hotel Dieu we find this passage referring to the elder Raudot :

“ He was a very witty old man, fluent and agreeable in conversation and he spoke well on every subject. He knew the history of every country, and chatted familiarly with everybody. He was of a kind disposition and inclined to render service to all with great uprightness. Both the Intendants gave us proof of their esteem while in Canada, and after they returned to France they have written us kind letters and have made themselves useful to us whenever they had an opportunity.”



## THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

Raudot, the elder, died in 1728, and his son in 1737.

Their successor, Michel Bégon, appointed in 1712, was singularly unfortunate. In the fire which destroyed the Intendant's Palace, he lost all his worldly goods, but what he most regretted was the destruction of a fine collection of books, which at that particular time was an irreparable loss. Personally he had a very narrow escape from the flames, and both he and his wife took up their abode at the Bishop's Palace. The members of the Superior Council also accepted the hospitality of the prelate. Bégon was a patron of the industrial arts, and did his best to promote home manufactures.

"The excessive cost of merchandise," he wrote to the Minister, "has made the inhabitants industrious; they make coarse cloth with thread and the wool obtained in the country; they likewise make a great deal of linen. The Sisters of the Congregation showed me some light woollen cloth they made for their own clothing which is as good as that made in France, and black stuff is made here for priests' cassocks, and blue material for their scholars. Necessity has given rise to this."

Dupuy, who succeeded Bégon, was not successful in his administration. He quarrelled constantly with the Governor and with the religious authorities, and in consequence he was soon recalled.

Hocquart was chosen as the successor of Dupuy, and his administration was marked by many public improvements

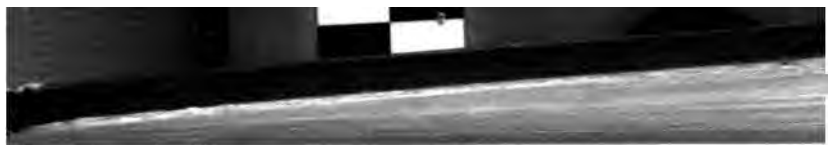
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

He caused a breakwater to be constructed in the river St. Charles for the protection of the shipping. This breakwater, which was still visible in 1830, was built of large stones taken from the river. It now forms a part of the Palais Wharf. Hocquart encouraged ship building in Quebec, and between 1732 and 1733, twenty vessels were built ranging from forty to fifty tons burden, which were used principally in the coasting trade between Quebec and Montreal.

The mining industry was developed under his regime, and discoveries of copper, lead and iron were made. In Talon's time some prospecting had been done, but at this period no one seemed to consider the working of the mines practicable.

The St. Maurice Forges were opened at this time. They were in operation for many years, and to-day they are still very active.

Hocquart was probably the most remarkable Intendant after Talon. He took a deep interest in everything that he thought would benefit the colony. He was zealous in aiding the cause of education, and at his request Leverrier gave public lectures on law. He soon discovered, however, that this method of instruction was not in harmony with the tastes of the people. The Canadian youth as a rule, was not inclined to study. The free and open life of the forest made him brook restraint, and he was often tempted either to seek adventure in travel, or fortune in trade, rather than endure the drudgery necessary to fit him for a professional career. In 1744 the census showed that



#### THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

there were nearly a thousand men engaged in trading with the Indians.

Charles de Beauharnois was Governor of the colony for over twenty years. His many and noble qualities won for him the esteem of the Canadians, a striking manifestation of which was given on his departure for France in 1747.

His successor, the Count de la Galissonnière, who occupied the office for two years was distinguished for his wisdom and ability as an administrator. His first act on arriving in Quebec was to study the needs of the country and its resources. He saw at a glance the moral value of the people, and realized their aptitude for war and navigation.

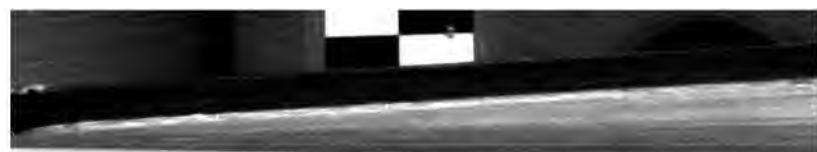
"If other colonies, he said, produce more wealth, this one produces men, a far more desirable wealth for a king than sugar or indigo, or even than all the gold of the Antilles." The Count de la Galissonnière strove to increase the power of France in Acadia by inducing the Acadians to settle on the debated ground which was claimed by England, between the peninsula of Nova Scotia and the river St. John.

He wished to establish definitely the extent of the possessions of France in the new world, and had already begun to determine the western boundaries. He claimed for his country the Ohio valley which would facilitate communication with Louisiana, and he limited the English possessions to the chain of the Alleghanies. Had Galissonnière remained in Canada, it is probable

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“ celebrated in Roman Catholic countries. This day  
“ was accordingly doubly remarkable, both on account  
“ of the holiday, and of the arrival of the new Governor  
“ general, who is always received with great pomp, as  
“ he represents a vice-roy here.

“ About eight o'clock the chief people in town  
“ assembled at the house of Mr. de Vaudreuil, who had  
“ lately been nominated Governor of Trois Rivières,  
“ and lived in the Lower Town, and whose father had  
“ likewise been governor-general of Canada. Thither  
“ came likewise the Marquis de la Galissonnière, who  
“ had till now been governor-general, and was to  
“ sail for France with the first opportunity. He was  
“ accompanied by all the people belonging to the  
“ government. I was likewise invited to see this  
“ festivity. At half an hour after eight the new  
“ governor-general went from the ship into a barge,  
“ covered with red cloth, upon which a signal with  
“ cannons was given from the ramparts, for all the  
“ bells in the town to be set a-ringing. All the people  
“ of distinction went down to the shore to salute the  
“ governor, who, after alighting from the barge, was  
“ received by the marquis de la Galissonnière. After  
“ they had saluted each other, the commandant of the  
“ town addressed the new governor-general in a very  
“ elegant speech, which he answered very concisely ;  
“ after which all the cannons on the ramparts gave a  
“ general salute. The whole street, up to the Cathed-  
“ dral, was lined with men in arms, chiefly drawn out  
“ from the burghesses. The governor-general then  
“ walked towards the cathedral, dressed in a suit of  
“ red, with abundance of gold lace. His servants went  
“ before him in green, carrying fire arms on their  
“ shoulders. On his arrival at the cathedral he was  
“ received by the bishop of Canada, and the whole  
“ clergy assembled. The bishop was arrayed in his







The Baroque.







#### THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

“ pontifical robes, and had a long gilt tiara on his  
“ head, and a great crozier of massy silver in his hand.  
“ After the bishop had addressed a short speech to the  
“ governor-general, a priest brought a silver crucifix  
“ on a long stick (two priests with lighted tapers in  
“ their hands going on each side of it) to be kissed  
“ by the governor. The bishop and the priests then  
“ went through the long walk up to the choir. The  
“ servants of the governor-general followed with their  
“ hats on, and arms on their shoulders. At last came  
“ the governor-general and his suite, and after them  
“ a crowd of people. At the beginning of the choir  
“ the governor-general, and the general de la Galis-  
“ sonnière, stopped before a chair covered with red  
“ cloth, and stood there during the whole of the cele-  
“ bration of the mass, which was celebrated by the  
“ bishop himself. From the church he went to the  
“ palace, where the gentlemen of note in the town,  
“ afterwards went to pay their respects to him. The  
“ religious of the different orders, with their respective  
“ superiors, likewise came to him, to testify their joy  
“ on account of his happy arrival. Among the numbers  
“ that came to visit him, none staid to dine, but those  
“ that were invited beforehand, among which I had  
“ the honour to be. The entertainment lasted very  
“ long, and was as elegant as the occasion required.”

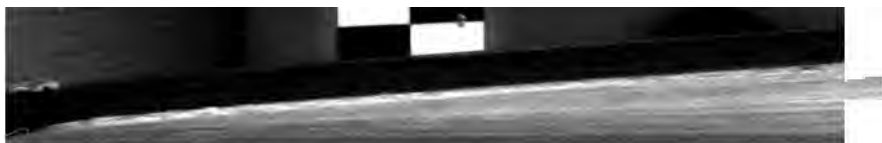
When Jonquière arrived, Quebec had undergone many improvements since the active régime of Frontenac, but very little alteration in the town had been made after 1720. The Jesuits had built a new college, and the Intendants palace, destroyed by fire in 1726, had been rebuilt, but with these exceptions the public buildings remained the same. A very detailed account of the city about the year 1750 is to be found in Kalm's

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

travels, and from this work we make a further extract :—

“ The Palace (Chateau St. Louis), is situated on  
“ the west or steepest side of the mountain, just above  
“ the lower city. It is not properly a palace, but a  
“ large building of stone, two stories high, extending  
“ north and south. On the west side of it is a court  
“ yard, surrounded partly with houses. On the east  
“ side, or towards the river, is a gallery as long as the  
“ whole building, and about two fathom broad, paved  
“ with smooth flags, and included on the outsides by  
“ iron rails, from whence the city and the river exhibit  
“ a charming prospect. This gallery serves as a very  
“ agreeable walk after dinner, and those who come to  
“ speak with the Governor-general wait here till he is  
“ at leisure. The Palace is the lodging of the Governor-  
“ general of Canada, and a number of soldiers mount  
“ the guard before it, both at the gate and in the court  
“ yard ; and when the Governor, or the Bishop, comes  
“ in or goes out, they must all appear in arms, and  
“ beat the drum. The Governor-General has his own  
“ chapel where he hears prayers ; however, he often  
“ goes to mass at the church of the Recollets, which  
“ is very near the palace.

“ The house of the Intendant is a public building,  
“ whose size makes it fit for a palace. It is covered  
“ with tin, and stands in a second lower town, situated  
“ south-ward upon the river St. Charles. It has a  
“ large and fine garden on its north side. In this  
“ house all the deliberations concerning this province  
“ are held ; and the gentlemen who have the manage-  
“ ment of the police and the civil power meet here, and  
“ the Intendant generally presides. In affairs of great  
“ consequence the Governor General is likewise here.



## THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

“ On one side of this house is the storehouse of the Crown, and on the other the prison.”

“ The Cathedral Church is on the right hand, coming from the lower to the upper city, somewhat beyond the Bishop's house. On the west side is a round steeple, with two divisions, in the lower of which are some bells. The pulpit, and some other parts within the church, are gilt. The seats are very fine.

“ The Jesuits Church is built in the form of a cross and has a round steeple. This is the only church that has a clock. . . . I attended divine service in their church, which is a part of their house. It is very fine within, though it has no seats; for every one is obliged to kneel down during the service. The building the Jesuits live in is magnificently built, and looks exceedingly fine, both within and without, which gives it a similarity to a fine palace. It consists of stone, is three stories high, exclusive of the garret, covered with slates, and built in a square form, like the new palace at Stockholm, including a large court. Its size is such, that three hundred families would find room enough in it; though at present there were not above twenty Jesuits in it. Sometimes there is a much greater number of them, especially when those return, who have been as missionaries into the country. There is a long walk all along the sides of the square, in every story, on both sides of which are either cells, halls, or other appartments for the friars, and likewise their library, apothecary shop, &c. Everything is very well regulated and the Jesuits are very well accommodated here. On the outside is their college, which is on two sides surrounded with great orchards and kitchen gardens, in which they have fine walks.

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“ A part of the trees here, are the remains of the forest  
“ which stood here when the French began to build  
“ the town. They have planted a number of fruit  
“ trees, and the garden is stocked with all sorts of  
“ plants for the use of the kitchen.... The Jesuits  
“ are commonly very learned, studious, and very civil  
“ and agreeable in company. Their conversation is  
“ very entertaining and learned, so that one cannot be  
“ tired of their company.

“ The Recollets Church is opposite the gate of the  
“ palace, on the west side, and looks well, and has a  
“ pretty high pointed steeple, with a division below  
“ for the bells. They have a fine large dwelling  
“ house. Near it is a large and fine garden which they  
“ cultivate with great application.

“ The church of the Ursulines has a round spire.

“ The Hotel Dieu, where the sick are taken care  
“ of, shall be described in the sequel.... We first saw  
“ the hospital which I shall presently describe, and  
“ then entered the convent which forms a part of the  
“ hospital. It is a great building of stone, three stories  
“ high, divided in the inside into long galleries, on  
“ both sides of which are cells, halls, and rooms. The  
“ cells of the nuns are in the highest story, on both  
“ sides of the gallery ; they are but small ;not painted  
“ inside but hung with paper pictures of saints and of  
“ the Saviour on the cross... In the middle story is a  
“ balcony where the nuns are allowed to take air.  
“ The prospect from the convent is very fine on every  
“ side ; the river, the fields, and the meadows out of  
“ town, appear to a great advantage. On one side of  
“ the convent is a large garden, in which the nuns are  
“ at liberty to walk about ; it belongs to the convent,  
“ and is surrounded with a high wall.”

“ The house of the clergy is a large building, on



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“ the north east side of the cathedral. Here is on one  
“ side a spacious court, and on the other, towards the  
“ river, a great orchard and kitchen garden.

“ The civility of the inhabitants here is more  
“ refined than that of the Dutch and English, in the  
“ settlements belonging to great Britain; but the  
“ latter on the other hand, do not idle their time away  
“ in dressing as the French do here.

“ The ladies, especially dress and powder their  
“ hair every day, and put their locks in papers every  
“ night; which idle custom was not introduced into  
“ the English settlements. The gentlemen wear gen-  
“ erally their own hair, but some have wigs.

The government of the Marquis de la Jonquière was not beneficial to the people in general, although he and several of his followers are credited with having derived profit from it. The governor was accused of carrying on trade with the western countries, and consequently his departure was not regretted.

The Marquis Duquesne de Menneville was named governor in 1752, after an interval filled by Charles Lemoyne, first Baron de Longueuil. The new governor was harsh in his measures and out of sympathy with the Canadians. They therefore rejoiced when one of their own people, Vaudreuil-Cavaignal, was named governor. The Canadians have always been loyal to their traditions, nor can we blame them over much for upholding, as long as possible, their faith in this poor, weak individual.

The Canadians, however, owe no debt of gratitude to their last governor. It was under his administration

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that their life became one of slavery and bodily suffering, and while he may not personally have received any profit from the wholesale plunder of the times, it must be remembered that he refused to allow the mother country to relieve them from their misery, by assuring the Minister in France that the affairs of the colony were being administered honestly. Whereas, when at last enquiry could be stifled no longer, and France sent out a man to investigate the accounts of her officials, it was proved immediately that a gigantic system of fraud had been carried out in almost every department of the public service, at the expense of the bodily suffering, and oftentimes at the sacrifice of the lives of the poor Canadians.

The career of Vaudreuil is almost inexplicable, and the only solution possible is that in some way he became involved in the intrigues of Bigot, which purchased his silence.

On his arrival Vaudreuil was received with open arms, and so implicit was the confidence reposed in him, that in the change which was slowly creeping over new France, a change which gradually sapped its energy, the people bowed to what appeared to them inevitable, instead of rising in revolt against a regime of tyranny and oppression.

The name of Bigot is associated with one of the most melancholy pages of the history of France. The record of his transactions in Quebec is one of heartless speculation and fraud. The result of recent research shows that for several years he systematically and



## THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

successfully endeavoured to create a condition of famine and distress in the colony in order to render possible his scandalous course of action. Examples are not wanting in history, of men holding important public positions who have turned their office into profit, even on a larger scale than Bigot ; but it is very doubtful whether the history of any other dishonest official furnishes a parallel to the last of the Intendants. In his nefarious schemes he had the hearty co-operation of one, Joseph Cadet, the son of a Quebec butcher who, after having been condemned to the Bastille, and ordered to restore six millions of his fraudulent gains, had still the means, in 1778, to purchase the time honoured Barony de la Touche d'Avrigny ; and who, through the assistance of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, became a noble of Old France.

Gigantic schemes have been invented from time to time to defraud the public, and the list of sufferers has often been large, but in the majority of instances the schemes have been accomplished by playing upon the credulity of the victims. In Bigot's case it was far different. The petty savings of the inhabitants were of small account, although in the course of time they were gathered in to swell his coffers. The Treasury of France would alone satisfy his ambition, and in order to enable him to draw freely from this inexhaustible fund, it was necessary to accustom thousands of the people to a long regime of abject misery and suffering. So skilfully were his plans carried out, that many of the leading authorities and some even of his

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associates were in ignorance of the means that he had adopted ; and at his trial, though some of his methods were exposed, and the miserable condition of the people was made evident, Bigot was not charged nor even suspected of having been directly responsible for that deplorable condition.

Legend and romance have invested Bigot with a peculiar interest which has no foundation in fact, and it is quite safe to say that the Intendant never resided in, or had any connection with, the famous Chateau with which his name is associated in the pages of fiction. When the history of this remarkable individual is written, it will be found that actual facts are far more startling than any of the most interesting pages of the novelists who have woven stories around his name.

François Bigot, who had acted as Commissary at Louisbourg in 1744 and 1745, when that place was taken by Pepperell, became Intendant in 1748, in succession to Hocquart. His record at Louisbourg had not been a good one, and he was suspected of corrupt practices, which, however, were only preliminary to those which he was about to undertake in his larger field. His powers as Intendant were extraordinary. He had the control of the finances of the colony, the purchase and distribution of supplies for the troops and for the various military posts, and the importation from France of such merchandize as was required for the public stores, which included all articles which the colony could not supply.



## THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

Bigot soon discovered that the Province was very fertile ; that there was an abundance of grain and cattle ; and, moreover, that the Canadians were a hardy race and could subsist without complaint upon a meagre fare. His first tactics, therefore, were to remove these two most important articles of consumption beyond the reach of the people. Bigot consequently made large levies upon the inhabitants under the pretence that the grain was required for the service of the King, paying whatever price he liked for it. When these levies had been repeated in every part of the Province, and all the available grain had been collected, it was shipped to France by his agents, to be repurchased from his associates for the use, and for the purpose of maintaining the very people from whom it had been taken. The grain remaining in the villages was then gathered in and sold to the people at exorbitant prices, until the Intendant had received authority for the purchase of the grain in France, which had actually been sent out of the Province.

Bigot's next move was to create a scarcity of cattle. This was done by gradually requiring all the animals to be sent to Quebec for the use of the troops, and they were then placed beyond the reach of the inhabitants. Under the pretext of a lack of provisions, horses were killed indiscriminately for food, and thus the habitants were deprived of a ready means of communicating with the capital. During the siege of Quebec, women and children were compelled to draw loads of provisions in carts, over rough roads, because there were no horses

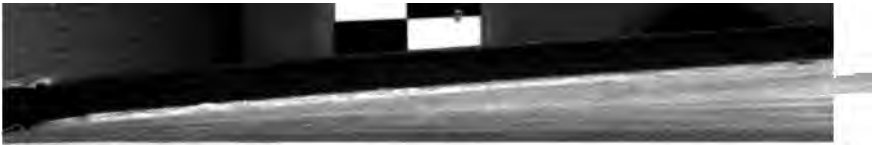


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for the purpose. And yet, when the British took possession they found cattle in abundance, sufficient for the commander in chief to affirm that there was no occasion for a single horse to have been slain, notwithstanding that the army had lived upon the country for nearly two years, except as a cloak for the knavery of the Intendant.

But Bigot's methods were not to be satisfied with the gradual starvation of the people. He found it expedient to attempt to destroy their manhood by imposing tasks upon them by which he could obtain a large revenue, and at the same time prevent them from cultivating their land or providing for their families. Horses had been reduced to a minimum, but nevertheless large quantities of provisions must be conveyed to the numerous and distant military posts.

Under the pretext of conferring a benefit upon these wretched people, Cadet exempted large numbers of men from military service, upon the condition that they would convey the provisions to the different posts as ordered, and give him a receipt for the amount which the Intendant collected from the King for the purpose. By this means, an enormous revenue was accumulated, while the condition of the people was the worst kind of slavery. While these, and many other similar methods, were been carried out, Bigot was posing as the real deliverer of the people, and, indeed, without his assistance hundreds of the inhabitants would have perished ; but, he had first created this condition, and relieved them only as a part of the detestable plan that



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he was persistently carrying out. The misery and suffering of the poorer class was not the only means by which the Intendant enriched himself and his associates. Amongst the members of the army, and the public officials, there were men of means, and these were made to contribute to the common fund of this carnival of corruption presided over by Bigot. The gambling and vice practiced at the Intendant's palace gradually debauched the army till even Bigot was astounded at its depths and seriously thought of calling a halt. It is not our purpose in this small work to attempt to write the biography of the last of the Intendants, although much material is now available ; but we have given a sufficient indication of his character to show that in his actions, and in the result of his administration we must look for the real cause of the downfall of New France.

The fact that Bigot was a scoundrel should not close our eyes to the fact that he was a man of extraordinary executive ability, and had he chosen to direct his talents and energy towards the development of New France he might have become her dictator. In a recent work it has been claimed that the downfall of New France was owing solely to the indifference of the mother country. This statement is misleading. If France is to be blamed at all, it is in the selection of the men she appointed to administer the affairs of the colony, rather than in any indifference to the demands of her chosen representatives, in whom she placed implicit confidence. When serious charges were made

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against the administration of Bigot, charges upon which he was subsequently convicted, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor of New France, denied, in the strongest terms, the accusations which were made against the Intendant.

France cannot surely be condemned for accepting the guarantee of her highest official against the evidence offered by those who might be considered as interested parties. When she discovered that the word of her Governor in this respect was worthless, it was too late to remedy the evil, and the only course open to her was to recover as much as possible of the money out of which she had been defrauded. But no measure of human justice could compensate the thousands of Canadians who had been starved into submission to the tyranny of Bigot, and who had sacrificed their lives and their all to maintain his shameless prodigality.

The conduct of the inhabitants during all this terrible ordeal is a striking proof of the deep rooted loyalty of the Canadian nature. Strangers, even to the meaning of political liberty, reduced to an indescribable condition of misery and starvation, leading almost the life of serfs, they steadfastly refused every bribe that was offered to them by the enemies of their country during the siege of Quebec. And these bribes were not offered to them to purchase their cooperation against France, but simply to obtain their neutrality. And, at last, when seductive arguments had proved unavailing, and the torch of the destroyer was the signal for whole villages and parishes to be consumed



### THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REGIME

in flames, these devoted children of New France wept tears of regret as every vestige of their homes disappeared ; but, even then, since their hands were powerless to stay the work of the avenger, so should their tongues refuse to utter the word which would purchase all that they held most dear, at the cost of disloyalty to their ungrateful country.

For over a century the French arms had succeeded in keeping in check the Iroquois tribes and the English colonists of New England, whose reigning passion, as Bancroft expresses it, was to take possession of Canada. The final blow was at last to be struck. England set her fleets in motion and armed her militia for a supreme effort. New France, under her boastful Governor, had neglected proper means of defence, except those which were hurriedly undertaken when the enemy was almost at the door. The mother country had previously sent out some of her best and most skilful officers, amongst whom was the illustrious and ever gallant Montcalm, whose loyalty and devotion to the cause of France were without an equal in these degenerate days.

The first military operations were encouraging to the French arms. Montcalm had laid siege to Fort Chouagouen in 1756, and taken possession of it. In the following spring he hastened to Fort George, and effected its surrender after a week's siege. To these two important acquisitions was added the victory of Carillon where Montcalm defeated the English army and covered himself with glory. Less fortunate in Cape Breton, in Acadia, and in Detroit, where the

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genius of Montcalm was lacking, France saw that her star was waning and that of England was in the ascendant. Then Wolfe came before Quebec with a powerful fleet and army, and the end was not far off.





## CHAPTER V

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1759-1760

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### THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC <sup>(1)</sup>

PREPARATIONS—THE FORCES UNDER WOLFE—  
DUPLICITY OF VAUDREUIL—MONTCALM IN COM-  
MAND—THE FRENCH POSITION—FIASCO OF  
THE FIRE SHIPS—WOLFE AT MONTMORENCY—  
DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH—WOLFE'S PLAN—  
BOUGAINVILLE OUTGENERALED—THE HEIGHTS  
OF ABRAHAM—THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS—  
DEATH OF WOLFE AND MONTCALM—CAPITULA-  
TION—WINTER IN QUEBEC—DEFEAT OF MURRAY  
BY LEVIS.

**I**N the spring of 1759, preparations were made in England and in Canada for the last great drama destined to determine the fate of France in the New World.

The military operations of the previous year, resulting in the reduction of Louisbourg and of Fort

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(1) For a full account of the campaign in 1759, see "The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham."

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Duquesne, had encouraged Great Britain to pursue her advantages in America and, if possible, to establish her supremacy by a decisive victory. Quebec, the stronghold of Canada, was to be the object of attack, either by the forces under General Wolfe, or in conjunction with those under General Amherst.

On the 6th of February the secret instructions of the King relating to the plan of campaign were delivered to General Wolfe, and on the 14th day of the month sixty transports, six sail of the line, and nine frigates, sailed from Portsmouth for America. Three days after, Admiral Saunders, General Wolfe, Brigadier Townshend, and other officers selected to serve in the expedition, sailed from the same port, on board the Neptune.

Louisbourg was appointed as the place of rendezvous, but owing to the quantities of ice in the harbour, the Admiral was obliged to proceed to Halifax, where he arrived after a very stormy passage, on the first of May. The fleet began immediately to refit, and on the 3rd of May, Admiral Durell was dispatched to the Lower St. Lawrence to cut off the approach of French vessels which were expected to convey provisions to the distressed colony. In the meantime, Brigadiers Monckton and Murray were actively engaged in purchasing supplies for the army, so that by the last day of May, Wolfe's forces, consisting of 8,535 men, were ready to proceed on their fateful expedition.

While all was activity along the coast of Acadia, the French upon the banks of the St. Lawrence were



*Major General, James Wolfe,  
from a portrait in the National Gallery*





### THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

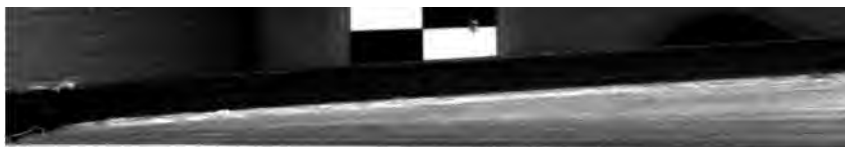
eagerly awaiting the opening of navigation for news from France. Montcalm, the commander of the French forces, had witnessed with dismay the baneful influence of the régime of Bigot and Vaudreuil, and the increasing misery of the people, and it appeared to him that the only hope for New France was in a powerful army of French regulars. The troops of the colony were brave enough, but the unfortunate conflict of authority, fostered by the Governor, created a division in the interests of the common cause of the country. Bougainville had been dispatched to France to urge upon the mother country the necessity of sending reinforcements. His mission would probably have proved successful if it had not been for the duplicity of Vaudreuil who, while professing to endorse the mission of Bougainville, warned the Minister to take no notice of his representations. Thus the afflicted colony was deprived of the assistance it had a right to expect, by the very man who was pledged to safeguard its interests. Bougainville returned to Quebec, on the 10th of May, with the intelligence that France found it impossible to send further aid, and the suggestion was made to Montcalm, that he should retire from his outposts and concentrate his power in order to preserve a foothold in America. This news was no doubt gratifying to Vaudreuil, whose inordinate vanity led him to pose as the saviour of Canada, while his actions contributed largely to the loss of the country.

Montcalm immediately proceeded to Quebec and assumed the direction of the campaign. Five bat-

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talions were brought from Montreal, and a body of cavalry was raised and placed under the command of de la Roche Beaucour. The Beauport side of the river was fortified with extensive earth works from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency. A bridge of boats was built across the St. Charles, and an entrenchment was made in the meadow of Monsieur Hiché, and carried from St. Roch's to the bridge. The entrance to the river St. Charles was secured by a boom defended by two hulks, mounted with cannon. Several boats were put upon the stocks and mounted with 12 and 14 pounders. A floating battery was designed by Captain Duclos, of the *Chezine*, with twelve embrasures for 12, 18, and 24 pounders. Batteries were constructed, communications were opened, and the breaches in the walls were repaired. These various works were executed with remarkable promptitude, but they were scarcely completed when the French received intelligence of the approach of the British fleet. The navigation of the river St. Lawrence had always been regarded as difficult, and in portions exceedingly dangerous, but at the present time it was considered quite impracticable, since all the buoys and directions for sailing had been removed. Great alarm was therefore felt when the British fleet came to anchor off the Island of Orleans, on the eve of the 26th of June.

The view that met the gaze of the invaders was one of unusual beauty, and drew forth expressions of delight from several chroniclers. "It is a beautiful island," said one, and well cultivated and produces all



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kinds of grain, pasture and vegetables." Another, a British officer, said: "Here we are entertained with a most agreeable prospect of a delightful country on every side: windmills, watermills, churches, chapels, compact farm houses, all built with stone, and covered, some with wood and some with straw." The church near them was the parish church of St. Laurent, from which the city could not be seen. From the western point of the island, a few miles distant, the city of Quebec, with its cathedral, its colleges, its public and private buildings, rose against the horizon, in reality, a city set upon a hill. The walls were guarded with batteries, which swept the river, and which in themselves were so high as to be beyond the elevation of cannon upon the vessels in the river below.

The appearance of the fleet in the St. Lawrence so near the city was a serious menace to the inhabitants, it was also a reproach to the governor. A short time before Vaudreuil had boasted "There is no ruse, no resource, no means which my zeal does not suggest to lay snares for them, and finally, when the exigency demands it, to fight them with an ardour, and even a fury, which exceed the range of their ambitious schemes."

The pilot of the port upon being questioned as to how it was possible for the fleet to pass the traverse in safety, replied, that he had not taken soundings for twenty-five years, and that when he had proposed to do so, he had been refused the necessary expenses.



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Vaudreuil's zeal was confined to an unceasing reiteration of his devotion to the colony, and to a scrupulous avoidance of its dangers.

Although the prospect spread out before the British was pleasing to the eye, Wolfe must have been considerably perplexed with the situation as he found it. He had written to his uncle a few weeks previously that "to invest Quebec and shut off all communication with the colony, it will be necessary to encamp with our right to the river St. Lawrence, and our left to the river St. Charles. From the river St. Charles to Beauport the communications must be kept open by strong intrenched posts and redoubts."

This plan was very good, but Wolfe now saw that it was impossible for him to occupy his chosen ground, and he was soon to realize the difficulties presented by the shore line above the city. The lower town was a narrow strip upon the water's edge, bounded by the cliff, which rose abruptly to a height of 300 feet.

As the youthful commander viewed this naturally fortified city, it seemed to stand upon an immense plateau, which disappeared towards the southern side. Could he have looked beyond, he would have seen the same high, forbidding cliffs, inclining towards the west from the city, and continuing for miles to form a barrier to the plateau above, a barrier he could hardly pass if unmolested, and which he could not hope to pass at all if opposed.

Between him, and the city on his right, was a broad sweeping bay whose muddy banks were bared by the



## THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

receding tide. Here landing from shallow boats would at all times be laborous and slow, and in the face of a fair defence impossible. But, now, earth works had been thrown up extending from the river Montmorency to the St. Charles, almost opposite the British vessels ; and encamped within the protection thus afforded, was the French army under the command of a skilful, experienced, and frequently victorious general, whose reputation was greater than that of the commander of the British forces.

Montcalm's position was exceedingly strong. The centre of his camp was at Beauport church, his right extended to the river St. Charles, his left to the Falls of Montmorency, and his whole camp was protected by strong lines crowning the gradually sloping shore. With the great distance he had to protect and the number of men at his disposal, it is evident that he made the best possible disposition of the forces under his command. Indeed, until the hour of his death, his actions were characterized by coolness and excellent generalship.

When Wolfe found that his chosen ground was already occupied by the French, he immediately proceeded to land upon the Island of Orleans, which two days before had been abandoned by the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Why this strong position should have been left open appears inconceivable, but it furnishes another instance of the incapacity of the Governor. Perhaps Vaudreuil had unbounded faith in the success of the



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fire ships which he ordered to be put in operation on the next day. Four of Cadet's vessels had been purchased by Bigot, with four others, at a total cost of 640,000 livres, (1) payable in bills of exchange falling due one year from date. Montcalm, however, had little faith in their utility. It was the intention of the French to float these vessels down with the tide and current into midst of the British vessels, now riding at anchor, and unable to move freely, and thus to fire the whole fleet as it lay helpless.

A meeting was held for the purpose of devising a suitable plan for conducting the adventure: A man of rare courage and coolness was required as commander of the little squadron of fire ships. One, Captain Delouche, a young man of zeal, enthusiasm and confidence, was convinced that he could succeed. He had under his command Grandmont, Leseau, Berthelot, Sabourin, Desormeau, Marchand and Dubois de la Multiers. His own opinion of himself was accepted, and Vaudreuil gave him directions. The plan adopted was simple, but there was a lack of definite organization. The only detail agreed upon was that the Captain of the foremost ship should ignite his vessel, and by firing, give the signal to the others. The seven rafts approached at some distance from each other until the first had passed Point Levis and was still a long way from the British vessels when, through fear

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(1) For the usual cost of Fire ships, see note on Fire Ships by Major Wood.



## THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

— it would be charitable to say through an error of judgment — the commanding officer ignited his vessel and deserted it. This was accepted as a signal by five others from whose ships projectiles were soon flying in every direction. The panic did not strike Captain de la Multiers, a hero whose name should be preserved from oblivion. He continued on his way for half an hour hoping to come within reasonable distance of the vessels before igniting his ship. Finally, he found himself beset in front and rear by the burning ships, and being unable to escape he, his second officer and a sailor, perished. The French had gathered to watch this unusual method of attack ; Montcalm and his officers having stationed themselves upon a commanding height near Beauport Church. They were much disappointed at the failure of this costly enterprise and roundly denounced Delouche and his associates. However, the French citizens were not less disappointed than the officers. They assembled at the Chateau St. Louis in a great state of indignation, and demanded the punishment of the officers concerned in the inglorious attempt. They even insulted the officers who had charge of the boats, greeting them with cries of " treason " and " treachery."

Vaudreuil promised to examine their complaints, but as usual in such cases, no one could be found blamable.

Wolfe now ordered a detachment under Monckton to proceed to Levis and establish a camp there. The inhabitants endeavoured to resist this move on the



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part of the British, but found that their numbers were insufficient, and Mr. Charest undertook to present a demand for reinforcements to the Governor.

Vaudreuil listened to his request for six hundred men, and seemed at first inclined to grant it. However, he decided to examine a British prisoner as to the probable movements of the enemy. The prisoner informed the Governor that an attack was meditated at Beauport that night. Vaudreuil refused the demand and hastened to the camp at Beauport, which was perfectly secure and not in need of his assistance. On the following day Mr. Charest renewed his demand and brought several articles from the British camp in support of his claim that it was unprotected. Vaudreuil was still undecided, and again questioned the prisoner who informed him that an attack would surely be made at Beauport. Mr. Charest's request was refused for the second time, and Vaudreuil spent the night at Beauport vainly awaiting the arrival of the British. On the third morning the Governor was willing to grant the assistance necessary, but it was found that Levis had been strongly fortified in the meantime. Vaudreuil's actions throughout this campaign are inexplicable, but the British profited thereby, and in consequence, they were allowed to occupy the Island of Orleans and Point Levis without opposition. On the 2nd of July Montcalm had urged Vaudreuil to fortify Point Levis, but no notice was taken of his demand.

Wolfe being now in the undisputed possession of



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two camps made preparations to take the offensive. He had issued a proclamation on the 28th of June assuring the inhabitants that if they remained neutral their property would be protected, but if on the other hand they took up arms, they would be severely dealt with and their possessions would be destroyed.

His appeal to the people was useless. With all the faults of the administration they were strongly attached to France, and they resorted to arms whenever an opportunity occurred.

Several batteries were erected at Point des Pères to destroy the town, and while the work was in progress Wolfe sent a message to the Governor under cover of a flag of truce, setting forth the objects of the campaign. On the ninth of July, after the batteries were completed and in operation, Wolfe crossed over to the Montmorency shore where he established a third camp. The movement of the troops and their equipment was conducted without loss, and it was here that the excellent generalship of Wolfe's second Brigadier, George Townshend, was manifested. When Townshend landed at Montmorency he found that no guard had been left to point out the route taken by the first Brigade, although the night was dark. The baggage too, of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, had been left in a meadow with no officer in charge, so that a few savages might have plundered the whole. Townshend immediately collected the baggage and left a guard in charge. He then pressed on to the higher ground and as soon as his regiment had



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ascended the hill he called a halt, and sent a detachment to haul up the guns. Upon arriving in camp after daybreak he received a mild reprimand from Wolfe in the form of a hint that he had been dilatory, while in fact he had only halted to place a proper guard over the baggage, and to haul up the guns, which Wolfe had neglected to do. In the morning a detachment of Canadians and Indians that had been sent across the ford to annoy the British advance, rushed upon the rear of Wolfe's lines, and drove a few Rangers down to Townshend's quarters for refuge. Here the Savages scalped 14 men and wounded two officers before they could be driven off. (1)

In this situation Townshend remained until dusk, when, although he had no orders to entrench, he thought it necessary to provide against a night attack. In less than three hours he ran up a parapet with retiring angles to cover the face of the two battalions facing the accessible part of the country. During the night there were no attacks owing to the precautions taken. Wolfe retired early that night, and in the morning visited Townshend's camp and received his report of the means he had taken to protect the camp. Wolfe disapproved of the method of defence which he considered of far greater strength than necessary, but it is evident that the General was not in a mood to favour any independent action on the part of his Brigadiers. In a short time the British position at

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(1) See note on George Townshend in the appendix.



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Montmorency was secure, and they had three distinct camps in the presence of the enemy. The left of the French camp was threatened by this new position, although there was a strong barrier between the two armies presented by the Falls.

Vaudreuil suggested attacking the British in force, but the only man who supported this course was Bigot who, it is said desired to diminish the number of rations he had to supply. While various expeditions were proposed, nothing of importance was accomplished on either side. Montcalm realised the strength of his position, and Wolfe the difficulty of an attack. In the meantime the batteries from the town maintained a heavy fire against the works at Point des Pères; and on the fifteenth of the month no less than ninety-six shells and seven cascades were thrown into the town, which resulted in the loss of many houses in the lower town, and great damage to the Cathedral, and to the houses in its vicinity.

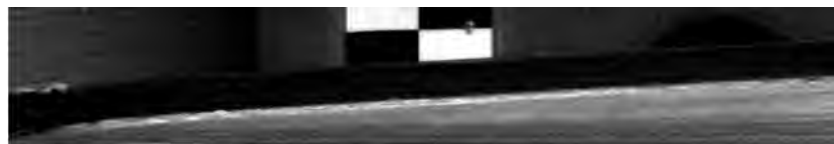
The appearance of the fleet in the Basin had been a surprise to the French, but on the 18th of July they were seriously alarmed when several vessels passed the town in safety under a heavy fire from the batteries. By this means they recognized that communication with Montreal by water could be cut off and famine threatened; moreover, an attack by land and water might be made along the unprotected shore, which would involve a division of the forces. The drum was beaten calling all to arms, and five hundred men under Dumas, marched to the Foulon, but although Wolfe

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appears to have considered the possibility of an attack at this place, the time was not yet ripe.

The month of July was drawing to a close, nearly half the summer was over, and the eager, restless British commander found himself no nearer victory than when he landed upon the Island of Orleans, nearly five weeks before.

Montcalm, who was usually eager to fight, refused to be tempted to a decisive action. On the 29th of July Wolfe evolved a plan which he intended to put into operation on the next day, but the preparations being incomplete it was deferred until the 31st. His general plan was to bring Monckton's brigade over from Levis to Orleans, and thence to a point about three-quarters of a mile west of the Montmorency river, where the troops were to land upon the shore near a French redoubt. The landing of this brigade was to be protected by three vessels which were to run in as far as possible in advance of the transports, and even to ground if necessary. Townshend and Murray were to ford the river below the Falls, and march along the bank to join Monckton's brigade, and support it. In order to prevent Montcalm from massing his troops at the left of the line where the attack was intended, a regiment was to march up the bank of the Montmorency river on the east shore in view of the enemy, as if with the intention of crossing above the Falls to attack the rear. They were then to return by another route to join Townshend's brigade. Another body was to march westward along the banks of the St.



*Le Marquis de Moncalm  
Le Marquis de Moncalm, Marquis de Moncalm  
Le Marquis de Moncalm, Marquis de Moncalm*

CEB - CYPRUS TWO FLOR

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On 12 October 1990, the first of the 100 lectures was held at the University of Cambridge. The lecture was held in the Lecture Theatre of the University of Cambridge, which is a large hall with a capacity of 1,000 people. The lecture was held in the Lecture Theatre of the University of Cambridge, which is a large hall with a capacity of 1,000 people.

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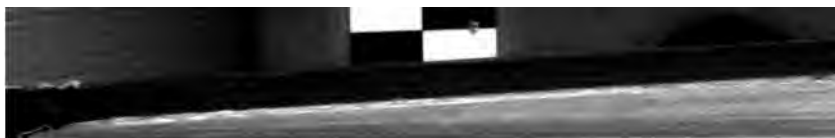
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estuary along the bank of the river.



*L.F. Marquis de Montcalm.*  
*by permission of the Marquis de Montcalm.*  
*Château d'Orléans par le Vignat Gard France*





## THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

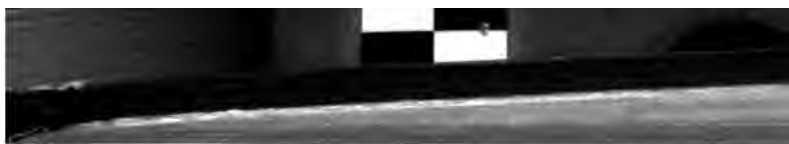
Lawrence to occupy the attention of the right of the French army. The plan seemed good, but a series of mishaps attended its execution, resulting in the loss to the British of 427 men and 30 officers killed and wounded ; while the French loss was only 66 killed and wounded. This was the first serious attempt to attack the stronghold of the French, and its termination was disastrous to the hopes of Wolfe.

The month of August opened inauspiciously for the besieger and the besieged. On the French side there had been little loss of life, but many of the inhabitants were ruined and homeless ; moreover, they were experiencing the horrors of famine. The British were in an unenviable position. The severe repulse at Montmorency had thinned the ranks and damped the ardour of the soldiers. Again, the inclemency of the weather, and the exposure of the camps during a summer of excessive rain had threatened the health of the army. In order to relieve suffering as much as possible, the sick in the British camp were removed to the Island of Orleans.

Wolfe adopted another method at this time to try to draw Montcalm from his intrenchments. Murray was sent with a strong detachment to Deschambault to try to effect a landing, and if possible force his way towards the city from that quarter. Great preparations were made for this expedition from the fact that Deschambault was the base of stores for the French. For two days the British had caused their boats to ply to and fro along the north shore in order to allay suspicion.

On the eighteenth of August the signal was given to embark, and at midnight the expedition started. At day break on the 19th the boats drew near the shore, and an hour later a landing was effected two miles below St. Joseph's Church. The French were surprised, and believing that a much larger force had landed, retired to the shelter of a wood. Near the Church, in a house occupied by Madame Cadet, wife of the army contractor, the British found clothing ammunition and arms, valued at ninety thousand pounds, which they destroyed by fire. About this time it became known that Wolfe was suffering from a slow fever, and the soldiers were disheartened at the news, for there had been little progress made, and the prospects looked dark. The destruction of property threatened by Wolfe was now put into terrible effect. Parties were sent out daily to lay waste the villages and farms, but still the Canadians would not remain neutral. On the 29th of August Wolfe found himself too ill to direct the campaign, and he requested the general officers to consult for the good of the service, enclosing to them a plan of campaign. The Brigadiers rejected the suggestions of Wolfe and stated in writing their reasons for so doing. In consequence, a plan was drawn up by the brigadiers in which Wolfe acquiesced. By this plan it was proposed to make a descent either at Pointe aux Trembles or at St. Augustin.

In the early days of September, after the camp at Montmorency had been broken up, active preparations were made for putting the Brigadier's plan into opera-



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tion. This plan has been the cause of much confusion, and the Brigadiers have been given credit thereby for the plan by which Quebec was eventually taken. On the eight of September Wolfe was so far recovered as to be able to resume command, and he then appears to have considered the plan of his officers impracticable.

On the 10th of September he abandoned their scheme and selected the Foulon as the place of attack.

It soon became known that a change was proposed, but the Brigadiers were in ignorance of Wolfe's intentions. On the 12th, orders were given for embarkation, and the three Brigadiers Monckton, Towushend and Murray, addressed a letter to Wolfe in which they requested information both as to the nature and the place of the attack. Wolfe replied to this communication two hours before the boats containing the troops were put in motion, stating that he had chosen the place where he thought he was most likely to succeed, and that it was not the duty of officers to enquire when not particularly charged with the task of conducting an expedition. He further stated that the place was the Foulon, and gave all the directions which he thought necessary. These two important letters which forever set at rest the disputed question as to the authorship of the plan by which Quebec was taken, have only recently been brought to light ; but their publication has proved that the Brigadiers had no desire to claim any share in the plan.

Shortly after these letters had been written, the troops embarked in the flat bottomed boats from the

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

ships off Cape Rouge, and awaited the order to proceed. For two or three days the ships had been in the vicinity of Cape Rouge, and during the day the men had been put ashore at St. Nicholas ; and returned to the vessels towards evening. The ships would then make various movements which were followed by de Bougainville. Towards dusk on this evening the troops as usual had rejoined their ships, but as soon as it was dark, the men were lowered into the boats and sent over to the south shore. When this had been accomplished the vessels began to move slowly towards St. Augustin, as they had done before, except the Sutherland, which remained anchored in mid stream.

Bougainville immediately set his troops in motion to follow them in accordance with his instructions, not knowing that the men had been removed.

At midnight the small boats formed in line between the Sutherland and the south shore, and at a given signal fell down with the tide towards the town. Bougainville by this time was far way, and so long as silence was preserved there was little fear of detection. The boats passed on their way, but when within about a mile of the place of landing an incident occurred which threatened not only to cut short the career of the youthful commander, but also to destroy all his carefully laid plans for the reduction of Quebec. <sup>(1)</sup> The landing place was reached at length, and soon

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(1) See the Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.



## THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

the twenty four men selected as pioneers were scaling the naked rock, about two hundred yards to the east of the foot of the winding path. As soon as these men had gained the height they attacked and overpowered the posts which defended the path, and cleared the way for the ascent of the remainder of the troops. The men formed as early as possible and marched straight across the plateau until they came to the St. Foy road, led by the General. They were then ordered to face to the right and march along the St. Foy road until they came to the house of M. Borgia, situated near the corner of Maple Avenue. This house was taken possession of by the British, and Wolfe immediately formed a line of battle across the plateau, with the hill upon which the Gaol now stands, at his rear. Here he awaited the arrival of the troops which were crossing over from Levis under the direction of Carleton. Brigadier Townshend attended to the disembarkation, and by eight o'clock the whole of Wolfe's forces were in battle array on the heights of Quebec.

In the meantime the French had learned that the enemy had landed, and were making preparations to oppose them, but long before any of Montcalm's men had crossed the river St. Charles all Wolfe's arrangements had been completed, and he was beginning to entrench his position. At a quarter to seven the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was at Beauport, had addressed a letter to de Bougainville in which he informed him of the landing of the enemy ; but Vaudreuil was under the impression that he was at Cape Rouge,



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while he was actually at this time at least fifteen miles from the city.

When the French at last arrived upon the heights in the vicinity of the Drill Hall, they found that the British were in a strong position. Wolfe had been in almost undisputed possession of the field for over three hours, and he had wisely made choice of the most advantageous position. Montcalm took in the situation at a glance, and recognized as a prudent general, that immediate action was necessary. The action of the French General has been severely criticised by those unfamiliar with the true state of affairs at this moment. It has been contended that Montcalm should have waited the arrival of de Bougainville who it is claimed was at Cape Rouge. Bougainville, however was not at Cape Rouge, but many miles distant, where he had been drawn by the clever tactics of Wolfe.

Had Montcalm waited two hours longer his chances of defeating Wolfe would have been much less than they were at this time, for every hour Wolfe was strengthening his position and he would soon have been able to defy a very powerful army. General Murray's statement made during the following year when the French were in a similar position to the English at this time, is a testimony of the soundness of Montcalm's judgment in immediately attacking the enemy.

The peculiar position chosen by Wolfe made it imperative for the attacking army to abandon the advantages afforded by the rising ground upon which



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the Martello Towers are situated and to descend into the hollow, where a much larger army might have been liable to defeat. To have left the British alone would have been to court disaster, for the navy was already preparing to bring up a quantity of field pieces, and in a short time Wolfe would have been able to fortify his position which was so favoured by nature. Montcalm, therefore, decided to bring on the action while there was a fighting chance. His men came on briskly to the attack, but when they were within about forty yards of the British, near de Salaberry street, Wolfe gave the order to fire, and the whole of his line fired as one man. The effect of this volley at so short a range practically decided the fate of the day. By the time the smoke had cleared away,—not more than six minutes,—it was discovered that nearly the whole of the front rank of the French army had been mown down, and that the remainder of the troops were disorganized thereby. At that instant Wolfe gave the order to advance, and before Montcalm could rally his men, the British were in pursuit.

Wolfe had scarcely given the order to advance when he received his third and mortal wound, and he was conveyed to the rear where he died shortly after. Within those few moments the flower of the French army was cut down, the British General was dying, and the heroic Montcalm had received his mortal wound. With his face to the foe, he manfully endeavoured to rally his men for a second attack, but the havoc wrought amongst his men was too great, and he was



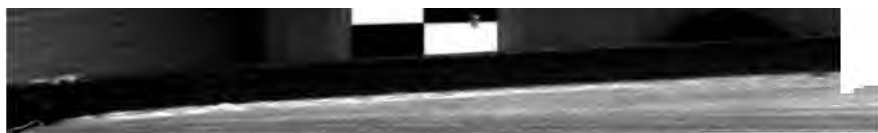
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

forced by the retreating army towards the city and sorrowfully conducted within its walls, where he expired early on the following morning.

The pursuit soon became general, and Townshend who had assumed command, owing to the fact that Monckton was disabled at the same time as Wolfe, was obliged to recall his troops to prepare for the return of Bougainville, who was expected at any moment. By this judicious movement he was removed from the dangers of the batteries of the town, and he was also prepared for any attack in the rear. Townshend chose the same place as Wolfe had first selected, to meet Bougainville, which was a tribute to the generalship of the dead commander. Townshend had scarcely completed his dispositions when de Bougainville appeared on the St. Foy road in the rear, and came on to attack. He soon realised that his position was untenable for Townshend occupied the high ground, while he was on the edge of the cliff. However he made an attempt and a brief engagement ensued in which he lost thirty men. He thereupon retired in the hope of rejoining the main army. When he reached the camp at Beauport he found that the army had abandoned their camp and retired to Jacques Cartier.

After the battle Townshend formed his camp upon the battle field, and fortified himself against further attack.

Early on the morning of the 14th, Montcalm breathed his last. A few hours before his death he had written to Townshend informing him that the



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French were obliged to capitulate, and desired him to execute the cartel of exchange. Montcalm realised from the first that the cause was lost, particularly since the city had been abandoned by the army. Vaudreuil who had boasted so much of the plans he had taken, and would take to save the city, had been tried and found wanting, and in the hour of the city's greatest need he sought personal safety in flight. From his place of security he began to urge upon the helpless citizens the necessity of resisting to the last, whilst he had withdrawn from them the only means by which they could hope to make resistance effective.

At day-break on the 14th of September the Heights of Abraham presented a dismal sight. Far and wide over the field of battle, the blue and white uniforms of the heroic dead bore mute testimony to the havoc that followed in the wake of victory. The British had buried their own dead and those of the French who were within their own lines. At noon a flag of truce came from the city, and hostilities were suspended while the remainder of the victims of the battle were consigned to the grave. Within the walls of the city were scenes of distress and excitement. From the batteries the terrified people saw that the British had thirty pieces of canon directed against the feeble fortifications, and were hourly making a closer investment. The army in the rear had been withdrawn, so that the people were entirely abandoned to their own resources. All hopes of succour failed the citizens, and general discouragement pervaded the whole population. The

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women and children suffering with hunger, cried for bread. The merchants, impoverished by the bombardment which had destroyed their shops, their homes, and their merchandize, viewed with anxiety the preparations which were made for a general assault by land and by water, and begged de Ramezay to capitulate while yet there was time ; but he still bravely held out. At length, after a council of War, de Ramezay signed and gave out the following decision :—

“ Considering the instructions I have received from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and the scarcity of provisions proved by the returns to me furnished, and the searches I have made, I conclude to endeavour to obtain from the enemy the most honourable capitulation.”

On the eighteenth the city formally capitulated, and the British took possession.

Monseigneur Pontbriand, writing to the Minister in France two months after, said :—

“ Quebec has been bombarded and cannonaded for the space of two months ; a hundred and eighty houses have been burned by cascades, all the others riddled by cannon and bombs. Walls six feet thick have not withstood ; vaults in which private persons had placed their effects, have been burned, broken down and pillaged during the siege and after it. The Cathedral has been entirely consumed. In the Seminary, there is no part habitable, except the kitchen, where the curé of Quebec and his vicar have retired. The church in the Lower Town is entirely destroyed ; those of the Recollets, the Jesuits and of the Seminary are not in a state to be used without very extensive



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repairs. There is only the Ursuline Church in which services can be held with any decency, although the English make use of it for some special ceremonies. This community and that of the Hospitaliers have also been much damaged. However, the nuns have found a means of living there through good and bad, after remaining the whole time of the siege in the General Hospital. The Hotel-Dieu is exceedingly confined because the English sick are there. Four years ago this community was entirely burned out. The Bishop's Palace is almost destroyed and has not a single habitable apartment; the vaults have been pillaged. The establishments of the Recollets and the Jesuits are in about the same condition; the English have however made some repairs to them to lodge troops there. They have taken possession of the least damaged houses in the city. They drive out from their own homes even those citizens who at their own expense have had some apartment repaired, or so limit them by the number of soldiers billeted upon them, that almost all are obliged to abandon this unfortunate city; and they do this all the more willingly because the English are not willing to sell anything except for coined money, and it is known that paper is the money of the country. The Seminary priests, the canons, the Jesuits, are scattered in the small portion of the country that is not yet under English rule. Private people in the city are without wood for the winter, without bread, without flour, and without meat, and live only upon the portion of biscuit and pork which the English soldiers sell them out of their own rations. Such is the extremity to which the best citizens are reduced."

The Prelate who wrote these despairing lines died on the 8th of June in the following year. He had

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retired to Montreal in October, 1759, almost broken hearted at the sight of the misery and suffering caused by the war.

The British were totally unaccustomed to such winters as they experienced in Quebec, and they found it impossible to walk with safety. Captain Knox reports that having been ordered to mount guard in the Lower Town, he found that the men could not descend Mountain Hill on account of the ice, and they were obliged to seat themselves on the ground and slide one after the other to the foot of the hill. The record of the devices they made to assist them in walking, and to keep from freezing, appear strange to one accustomed to a Canadian winter, and with every article of comfort at hand. Nevertheless, the sufferings of these poor men were not exaggerated ; and, moreover, hundreds of them perished from scurvy.

The French had not abandoned all hopes of regaining Quebec. From time to time news was received that they were gathering their forces for an attack, and the British were therefore kept continually in a state of suspense.

On the 17th of April the Chevalier de Lévis left Montreal with 4,500 regular troops and a few days after a large train of supplies was embarked on board a fleet of boats which proceeded to Jacques Cartier, Deschambault and Pointe aux Trembles. The forces of Lévis when he reached the latter place amounted to nearly ten thousand men. On the 26th the army landed at St. Augustin and after crossing the river



## THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

Cap Rouge came upon the English, who immediately fell back to Ste. Foy.

On the twenty-seventh, Murray was apprised of the approach of Lévis in a singular manner. Early in the morning, the watch on board the Race Horse had been alarmed by a cry of distress which seemed to proceed from the river. A boat was put out and presently a man was discovered on a floating piece of ice. He was conveyed to the ship and revived, when he told the officer that Lévis was marching towards the town with a large army. The man was afterwards taken to General Murray, to whom he repeated his story, and he also described his perilous descent amidst the floating ice.

The troops were called to arms, and early in the morning, Murray led his little army consisting of three thousand one hundred men, with a number of pieces of cannon to the attack. One column issued from St. Louis Gate, and one from St. John Gate, while the French came by the way of Ste. Foy and Suède roads.

There appears to have been a great deal of confusion in the past, both as to the number of the British at the Battle of Ste. Foy, and also as to the method of attack. The question of the number of men, and the details of the battle are satisfactorily settled by the discovery, in the month of November last, of the original plan of the battle, with its detailed description, signed by Patrick Mackellar, the chief engineer of the British army under Murray ; and also by the discovery of General Murray's report made on the day after the battle.

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We quote at some length from Mackellars' Plan and Report, because they have not hitherto been made use of by any previous writer.

"The action which lasted full three hours was chiefly upon the flanks. There the enemy made all their efforts without making any attempt towards the centre, tho' their numbers were sufficient to make a push there likewise. But even upon the flanks we for some time gained considerable advantage. Upon the right our infantry beat back their grenadiers from the house and windmill, but they unluckily pursued too far to be sustained, and suffered accordingly. They were beat back in their turn and with such a loss as to appear no more in the action. Upon our left we gained a great deal of ground, the volunteers and grenadiers of the 29th drove the enemy out of the two redoubts y and z. <sup>(1)</sup> They kept possession of them for some time, but being at length surrounded they were obliged to force their way back.

"The enemy had now overpowered our flanks with such superior numbers as left us no more hopes of success. A retreat began of its own accord in which it must be observed that the redoubt w was of great service <sup>(2)</sup> and kept the enemy at bay for about ten minutes, which saved our rear and many of our wounded from being cut off from the town. This was raised only a few fathoms high on account of the frosts. but there being two pickets left there during the action it deceived the enemy as a complete work. We brought off only two pieces of artillery, it was impracticable to

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(1) The Redoubts y and z were situated on the high ground near the Marchmont property.

(2) The Redoubt w was situated on the site of the gaol. It was afterwards called Wolfe's Redoubt.



## THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

bring off the rest on account of the snow. X.Y.Z. are redoubts raised by us during the Siege of 1759, but were not thought of consequence enough to be demolished when the other works were . . .

“The first forming of the British troops was two deep, and the French army was at first drawn up four deep.”

A study of the plan proves that Murray, who occupied at first a position similar to Montcalm, in the previous September, had a very advantageous ground, but he hoped to be able to defeat Lévis before he had time to form properly, just as Montcalm had tried to prevent Wolfe. Murray was encumbered by his cannon, and but for these Mackellar says he would have attacked the French earlier. Lévis made a clever movement which deceived Murray into the belief that he was about to fall back upon another position, and after he had descended into the hollow there was nothing to do but to fight as best he could. In this three hours fight Murray lost nearly one thousand men, while the loss of the French was nearly seven hundred and fifty. The Siege was by no means at an end. Murray had now only a miserable discouraged garrison, while the French under the victorious Lévis had renewed courage. On the same evening Lévis commenced to construct a parallel about eight hundred yards from the walls, upon the foundations which Murray had commenced in the autumn before. He also erected a battery of four guns, one of six guns, and one of three guns and two mortars which were



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opened between the 10th and 13th of May. Six mortars were also set up to prevent the shipping from flanking their camp, and a provision magazine was established at the Foulon. For six days the enemy kept up their fire against the town ; but the temporary works which Murray had erected in front of the walls in October 1759, and the superiority of his artillery prevented the fire of the French from doing much damage. On the 16th, three British ships arrived, and ran some of the French vessels aground. This caused Lévis to raise the siege, and he retired on the night of the 16th and 17th of May, leaving his baggage and artillery.

Thus ended the Siege of Quebec in 1759 and 1760, in which so many gallant soldiers found that "the paths of glory lead but to the grave."







**QUEBEC VOLUNTEER CAVALRY**







## CHAPTER VI

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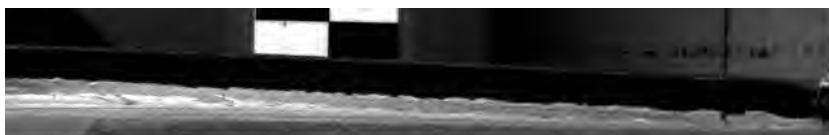
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### THE FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

DEFENCE UNDER CHAMPLAIN — THE FIRST STONE FORT — CHATEAU ST. LOUIS — WORKS UNDER FRONTENAC — LE VASSEUR'S PLAN — DE LERY'S REPORT — MACKELER'S PLAN — THE VOLUNTEERS OF 1728 — HAWKINS ON THE FORTIFICATIONS — MEETING OF CITIZENS — ENORMOUS COST OF WORKS — DEFECTIVE WORKMANSHIP — CARLETON ON THE DEFENCES OF QUEBEC — BRITISH WORKS — THE GATES OF QUEBEC.

THE fortifications of Quebec have always been in an intermittent state of development from the time when Champlain put up his first palisade under the cliff down to our own day, when the very idea of defending the city by a stone-faced citadel and surrounding wall has become as obsolete as the walls themselves. But, though this three centuries of development was in a sense continuous; yet its history falls naturally into six periods, each of which embodied its own idea,



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either in the form of regular new works, or merely in temporary shifts and expedients to meet the most pressing necessities of the moment.

I. From 1608 to 1689 there was nothing more than an isolated fort into which the people could withdraw in case of an Indian raid, or a stray attack from the sea.

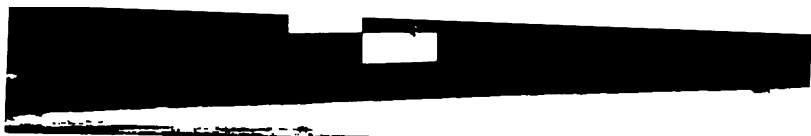
II. But from 1689 to 1759 there was a constantly developing scheme of defence, mainly concerned with the protection of the key of New France against regular British attacks in force.

III. From 1759 to 1778 there was continual tinkering at the defences in time of danger ; but though the old French works were useless, no new British scheme was attempted.

IV. After five years' work the first comprehensive scheme took form in 1783 ; but even then the works were not really of a permanent nature.

V. After another forty years a new, and much more complete, scheme was undertaken in 1823, on a far greater scale. The result was the Citadel and walls as they stand to-day, except for the demolition of a few of the gates and minor buildings.

VI. Finally, when modern conditions had made it impossible to rely on the present Citadel and walls, a new scheme of distant detached defences was taken in hand about 1865-1870 ; but never carried out beyond the erection of the present forts on the heights of Levis.







A Le magasin.

B Colombier.

C Corps de logis où sont nos armes, & pour loger les ouvriers.

D Autre corps de logis pour les ouvriers.

E Cadras.

F Autre corps de logis où est la forge, & artisans logés.

G Galeries tout au tour des

logemens

H Logis du sieur de Champlain.

I La porte de l'habitation, où il y a Pont-levis.

L Fromenoir autour de l'habitation contenant 10. pieds de largeusques sur le bord du fossé.

M Toiles tout autour de l'habitation

N Plottes formées, en façon de renailles pour mettre le canon

O Jardin du sieur de Champlain

P La cuisine

Q Place devant l'habitation sur le bord de la rivière.

R La grande muraille de l'habitation.



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The extremely interesting history of all these successive schemes has never been fully known until the present year, 1903, when the original plans and documents have been collected and studied in their entirety for the first time.

I. The tiny settlement which Champlain founded in 1608 was defended by a sort of compromise between a mediaeval castle and a backwoods stockade. An illustration of it, copied from the "*Voyages de Champlain*," published in 1613, is given in this work. There was a drawbridge, a ditch and a court yard, with platforms for the cannons and loop-holes for musketry all complete ; but the whole edifice was built of wood and earth only. The "*Habitation*," with additions and improvements, served the needs of the colony until 1620, when Champlain commenced on the crest of the rock, a more important structure, afterwards to be distinguished as the Fort St. Louis.

The work in connection with this fort was necessarily tedious on account of the scarcity of workmen and the lack of material. On the eve of his departure for France, in 1624, Champlain urged the inhabitants to continue the building of the fort during his absence to the best of their ability, but upon his return, in 1626, he found that no progress had been made. He therefore caused the walls to be levelled to their foundations, and commenced the construction of a more spacious fortress. The new building was at length completed and it served as a residence for the invader, Kertk, from 1629 to 1632. Champlain took up his abode in

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the fort in 1633, and resided there until his death, in 1635.

Montmagny succeeded Champlain, and it was under his régime that the first stone fort was built. In the year 1646, a contract was passed between the Company of New France and certain contractors, for the construction of more extensive works of defence. In the following year, 1647, the foundation of the first Chateau Saint Louis (logie) was laid. The Chateau was erected within the boundaries of the Fort, and a distinction between the Fort and the Chateau has not always been preserved.

In the course of time it became apparent to those in authority, that if France desired to retain a foothold in the new world, the position of Quebec must be strengthened.

On the 4th of August, 1663, the Baron D'Avau-gour wrote :—

“ And finally, in order to plant effectually the  
“ fleur de lys there, I see nothing better than to fortify  
“ Quebec ; erect one fort at its right, on the opposite  
“ of the river, and another on its left, at the river St.  
“ Charles, and support these with reinforcements of  
“ three thousand men, as I have already communicated  
“ to the Baron du Cochet ; thus this post would be  
“ thoroughly secured, and thereby a very important  
“ work commenced. To effect this, two things are  
“ necessary :—First, one hundred thousand *écus*, for  
“ the fortifications, and one hundred thousand francs,  
“ for munitions of war and provisions. Secondly, it  
“ will be necessary for the three thousand men to be  
“ selected not only for war but also for labour.”



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From this letter it is evident that the French, at an early date, recognized the importance of Quebec as a strategic point.

Four years passed, and no effect was given to the suggestions made by D'Avaugour. In 1667, the great Colbert wrote :—

“ It is of the greatest importance for the security  
“ of the colony to devise practicable means to place the  
“ fort of Quebec in a state of defence, by constructing  
“ a regular fortification there, stocking it with an  
“ efficient artillery and all sorts of munitions of war, so  
“ that it might not only not be insulted, but be capable  
“ of a vigorous defence, even though the most exper-  
“ ienced nations of Europe laid a regular siege to it.”

During the next ten years representations were repeatedly made to the King setting forth the advisability of making provision to withstand an assault, but no aid was forthcoming. In 1681, Frontenac complained that the Chateau was in a deplorable condition, and that the walls of the Fort were in ruins. A plan was prepared by the Engineer Villeneuve for extending the boundaries of the Fort, and for providing suitable walls and buildings, but this plan, in its entirety, was not carried out.

II. During the seventy years between 1689 and 1759, Quebec was the constant objective of all British schemes in America. New England was always watching the opportunity of putting into practice “ The Glorious Enterprise ” for the final conquest of New France. This statesmanlike proposal, first formulated by Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, in 1689,



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“ Count Frontenac is busy with his fortifications  
“ at Quebec, and if left alone a year or two more, it  
“ will require an experienced officer and considerable  
“ force to turn him out.”

The British evidently employed every means at their disposal to keep in touch with the progress of events at Quebec. Amongst the papers referring to Quebec in the Public Record Office, London, there is a report of the affairs in 1694, obtained from two men, examined before the Governor of New York, from which this extract is made :

“ Q. How is Quebec fortified ?

“ A. By the waterside there is platform. A stone  
“ breast work, very low, which will give shelter to  
“ their men. The greatest has twelve guns which  
“ will throw a ball of 30 pounds. The fort stands  
“ very high in the upper town, which is fortified to  
“ the landside by a wall of 16 foot thickness, of brush  
“ faggots and earth palisades, fronting outwards, to  
“ prevent running over the walls ; this wall is not yet  
“ finished, but they have two engineers who have come  
“ over this summer, and we hear that they intend to  
“ build a stone wall round the town. In the town and  
“ fort of Quebec there are 140 guns, and not above  
“ 300 inhabitants who can bear arms.”

The contractors entrusted with the construction of the works under Frontenac, appear to have paid more attention to the price they derived for their work than to its value. The official correspondence at this time reveals many scandalous facts.

In October, 1698, M. de Champigny demanded



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the sum of forty thousand livres to complete the works absolutely necessary for the safety of Quebec, but two years later the sum of one hundred thousand livres was demanded.

A few months before his death in 1698, Frontenac wrote that the *Sieur LeVasseur de Néré* had been instructed to prepare new plans. Copies of these plans, and of the reports accompanying them, are before us.

The first report, which is very long, bears the date Oct. 6th, 1700. It commences as follows :

“ L'enceinte fut tracée en 1693 par un capitaine reformé qui estoit en Canada, il jetta la fortification au hazard sans avoir égard aux hauteurs dont elle pouvait estre commandée aussy la plus part des bastions si trouvent-ils enfillez et vous dériver a m'en pouvoir approcher.”

After pointing out numerous other defects, and estimating the cost of placing the fortifications in good order at one hundred thousand livres, *de Néré* states that three or four years will be required to execute the work.

*LeVasseur* transmitted to the King a plan showing the progress made on the new works in October, 1701, and he also suggested that the inhabitants should be compelled to contribute their labour towards the defence of Quebec.

Early in the year 1702, the British were informed that the stone wall which encircled Quebec was complete, and that 56 guns and 82 mortars were set up around the city. This report was confirmed by the Governor of New York, who in June, 1702, wrote :—



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“ We also informed ourselves of the state of Quebec. We understand that the place is well fortified with a stone wall round it, and there is a bridge over the creek, at which place the Bostoners stopped when they attacked it.”

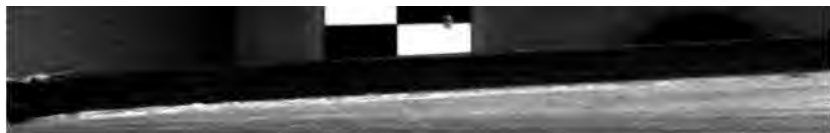
The several improvements executed under Le Vasseur's first plan were completed in 1703, but soon after a lengthy correspondence commenced between the Minister in France, and the Engineer and the contractors, regarding the faulty nature of the work. Jealousy, and an unfortunate system of patronage, seem to have been at the root of the interminable disputes revealed by the official correspondence.

In 1704, LeVasseur prepared another plan, and certain new works were commenced which were completed in 1707.

Under LeVasseur's plan there were three gates, but he appears to have intended to construct several others to the land side, as the walls were never closed in certain places, except by temporary barriers.

The King of France had certainly every excuse for exercising caution in supplying the constant demands for money for the fortifications of Quebec, which seemed to require perpetual alteration. Vast sums had been expended upon Quebec during the space of one hundred years, and as soon as the appropriation granted was exhausted, an entirely different plan was proposed as being absolutely essential for the safety of the colony.

For eight years there seems to have been a period



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of comparative quiet, but in the year 1715, in response to pressing demands, the King ordered certain works to be carried out. Chaussegros de Léry, the Engineer, was instructed to prepare a plan, and a report of the works considered necessary.

A preliminary plan was made in 1716, and a full report, was sent to France during the same year. In 1717, de Léry went to France and discussed the project with the Court, and obtained the sanction for the works which he proposed.

A copy of this report is published herewith, and it is somewhat singular to note, that de Léry condemned the plans of his predecessors for some of the faults for which his own plans were subsequently condemned. The report is as follows :

“ The situation of the place is favourable on the side of the St. Lawrence, and unfavourable on that of the land, as the locality is difficult of fortification, there being a great pitch from the summit at Cape Diamond to Coteau de la Potasse, and as the works will be partially commanded by the hill at Artigny’s mill, and by another hill undermarked 17 ; the ground rising according as it recedes from the place, it is favourable, inasmuch as nearly two-thirds of its circuit does not require to be fortified. All the portion from the Coteau de la Potasse, marked S, which fronts the river St. Charles around to the redoubt marked H, or top of Cape Diamond, and beyond that height, in front of the river St. Lawrence, has no need of any other fortifications than that of the batteries already there, as it is percipitous, and there are three good batteaux in the lower



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“town, at high water-mark, marked F, D, E. Those  
“on the escarpment, in the upper town, are not so  
“well situated, being too high, especially that of the  
“Chateau. The works on the land side, between the  
“Cape Diamond redoubt H, and Coteau de la Potasse  
“S, do not amount to much, being open in several  
“places, through which the town is entered ; some of  
“these were left as entrances to the town, they have  
“no gates, not even a miserable barrier ; the space  
“between Cape Diamond redoubt H, and the edge of  
“the escarpment 2, is open, so that thirty men could  
“enter the town abreast, that point having never been  
“closed. This redoubt, though badly turned, having  
“its left face undefended, is fit for use, being in good  
“repair ; and though it were well turned, flank 3 is  
“situated too low to defend this left face.

“Curtain R, and flank 3, and face 4, are com-  
“manded by the hill 5 of Cape Diamond, or more  
“strictly speaking, concealed by that height in con-  
“sequence of its proximity ; the Curtain is raised only  
“four, five, or six feet above ground, and at one place  
“as far as the cordon, as appears by the draft of the  
“actual works, having a large breach towards its  
“centre, some earth has been thrown up behind, which  
“does not touch the wall ; the flanks and faces of the  
“tenail have open embrasures ; to make use of them,  
“it would be necessary to put some earth there for a  
“platform and to construct the merlons. These works  
“are without a ditch.

“The mill battery, marked G, is fit for service,  
“and though it forms a dead angle, it is no less  
“effectual, being greatly elevated. All the fortifica-  
“tions, 6, 7, 8, to complete the inclosing of the town,  
“consist merely of an elevation without a ditch in  
“front, open and crumbling in many places, having  
“in one part a bad upright pallsade at the foot, which



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“ can be scaled without any difficulty, there being  
“ nothing to prevent it. Royal Redoubt, marked I.  
“ The barracks are good. This redoubt is not com-  
“ pleted, as some earth still remains to be put up on  
“ the terreplain, and the merlons are to be constructed,  
“ some doors and windows are to be inserted and the  
“ flanks of the barracks to be finished. The Dauphin  
“ Redoubt is incomplete, much being still to be done to  
“ it. Its location is bad, being on the slope of a rising  
“ ground. The plans, profiles, elevations and drafts  
“ which I have drawn exhibit the actual condition of  
“ these two redoubts. Saint Ursula's Redoubt, marked  
“ L, for the reception of cannon, consists merely of  
“ one double faced platform with embrasure of gabions,  
“ without a ditch, being enclosed by a miserable pal-  
“ lisade stuck upright ; it has no communication with  
“ the place and is open at its gorge ; the guns that  
“ might be put there in time of need would be soon  
“ captured ; as this redoubt is at a distance from the  
“ place, without communication, and without a ditch,  
“ and surrounded by a wretched pallisade, it would be  
“ cannon and people lost.

“ The fortification to enclose the palace is not  
“ advanced, having only the ditch which is marked ;  
“ it is excavated some 2 and 3 feet ; the rampart is  
“ not begun, the earth which has been removed from  
“ the ditch having been used to repair the gardens and  
“ fill up a pond, so that there is only this excavation  
“ of two and three feet.

“ St. Roch Redoubt, marked M, is surrounded by  
“ a small ditch ; the parapet, almost entirely in ruins,  
“ is made of gabions.

“ The Potasse tenail, marked ff, is badly turned,  
“ not being defended at any point.

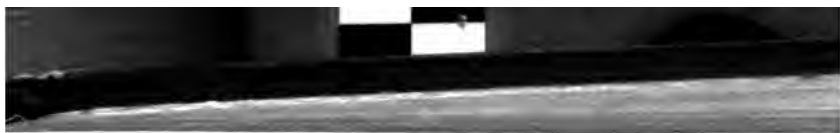
“ The fortification raised on Coteau de la Potasse,  
“ which occupies the border of the escarpment, is too



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“ low, being in some places only 6 feet high above the  
“ escarpment, which can be made use of at this point.

“ The fortification, Q. O. P., is imperfect ; Jou-  
“ bert's demi-bastion, Q., has neither its rampart nor  
“ parapets completed ; it forms, on its left, a dead  
“ angle towards the escarpment, marked, 9, 10, 11,  
“ where there is a gate ; the approach to this angle is  
“ by a covert way along the escarpment, and there is  
“ a passage of 7 and 8 feet between the end of the  
“ wall, which goes down to this escarpment, and the  
“ edge of the escarpment, 12, behind this wall, 10, 11 ;  
“ it is difficult to construct a rampart there, and at  
“ present there is no *chemin des rondes* from which we  
“ could fire over its parapet ; there are some loop holes,  
“ beside the gate, but they are situated too low, so  
“ that the fire would be completely traversed from  
“ without ; the curtain, 13, is raised six feet over the  
“ ground ; in bastion O, the ramparts are not built ;  
“ the curtain, 14, is not formed, except by a retrench-  
“ ment the same as that of the Palace ; the bastion F,  
“ is not finished ; it is raised over the ground, as shown  
“ in the sketch. This bastion is entirely opposed to  
“ the hill at Artigny's mill, being raised above the  
“ ground, like all the fortification, but without a ditch,  
“ it being impossible to make any at the right face of  
“ the Bastion O, which is situate on the brow of the  
“ hill which is very percipitous ; from the height at  
“ Artigny's mill, the faces of Bastion O could be easily  
“ destroyed. All the front from 15 to 16, is exposed  
“ to this hill, the fortification not being covered by  
“ any ditch ; and if it were desirable to construct one  
“ to Bastion F, it would be necessary to lower the  
“ faces of said bastion, or to raise the counterscarp  
“ which would be built, and the covert way of about  
“ twenty feet above the level of the ground on which  
“ the faces of this bastion stand ; this would cause a



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“ great expense, it being necessary to prolong the  
“ glacis of the covert way, which would not prevent  
“ the revetment of this bastion being always exposed  
“ at the heights ; as the bastion is situated in a low  
“ locality, I doubt if earth be found in the neighbor-  
“ hood within two hundred toises to construct its  
“ ramparts, which will be thirty feet high, for the  
“ vicinity of the place is nothing but rock covered with  
“ a little soil. I have remarked that there is neither  
“ cistern nor well within the fort, and the Marquis de  
“ Vaudreuil is badly lodged there.”

The scheme of defence prepared by de Léry met with the approval of the Court, and the work was commenced in June, 1720, a large appropriation having been made for the purpose.

There appears to have been much confusion as to the nature and the extent of the fortifications constructed by de Léry. His own plan settles the question.

It has been claimed that the walls of 1720 extended only a little beyond St. Ursule street. This is an imperfect description. From St. John's Gate to St. Louis Road, the walls ran in this direction, but between St. Louis Road and Cap Diamond, Joubert's Bastion, Glacière Bastion, and St. Louis Bastion, formed a continuous line in the direction of the present road to the Citadel. This position is also shown on the plan made by Nicolas Bellin, in 1740, and also shown on the enlargement of this plan made by Patrick Mackellar, Chief Engineer, for the use of Wolfe during the Siege of Quebec.

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A word concerning this plan which was no doubt often in the hands of Wolfe, may prove of interest.

Before Wolfe came to Quebec, Mackellar had secured a copy of the plan made by the French Engineer, which he enlarged, and supplied with many references obtained from personal investigation and from various other sources. To this plan he attached a report, the original of which was shown to the writer by Colonel Townshend during his visit to Quebec. Three days after the Battle of the Plains, Brigadier General Townshend addressed a letter to Brigadier Monckton, requesting him to send to him the plan made by Mackellar, if it were amongst the papers of the late General Wolfe. Monckton answered that he had not found the plan, but possibly it might be in the hands of the Engineer. After much research this plan is now available to the student through the efforts of His Excellency, the Earl of Minto, and a copy is in our possession.

The plans prepared by de Léry provided for the most elaborate works constructed under the French régime, although they did not include any buildings of importance upon Cape Diamond, as we have been led to suppose. With the exception of a small redoubt on the Cape, called Citadel Redoubt, the works in this direction remained the same as under the plan of Le Vasseur. It was in the extent of the outer walls, and in the addition of certain redoubts and batteries, in other parts of the city, that de Léry's work consisted. The walls themselves, however, contained many of the

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defects of the other plans, and the workmanship was very faulty.

While this work was in progress, the inhabitants were trained in the exercise of defence, as we find by the following :

“ ESTAT contenant les noms des Bourgeois et habitants de la ville de Québec qui se sont présenté pour faire apprentissage de l'exercice du canon pendant les années 1725, 1726 et 1727.

### SCA VOIR :

#### *Première Brigade :*

Girardin, forgeron ;  
LeGris, do  
Carpentier, maçon-entrepreneur ;  
Corbin, charpentier du Roy et contracteur ;  
Corbin, fils, charpentier de navire ;  
Maillon, architecte du Roy ;  
Maillon, forgeron ;  
Marchand, charpentier du Roy pour...et maisons ;  
Langlois, marchand-bourgeois ;  
Lallemant, bourgeois.

#### *Seconde Brigade :*

Prieur, bourgeois et perruquier ;  
Coton, orfèvre ;  
Saleur, aubergiste ;  
Charles LeVasseur, chartier ;  
Camaue, maçon-entrepreneur ;  
Caron, bourgeois et marchand ;  
L'Ense, menuisier ;  
Corbin, forgeron ;  
Louis Nadeau, charpentier de navire ;  
Jean-Baptiste Normand, chartier.

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" Je certifie le présent Rôle véritable et tous les  
" hommes présens qui ont servi pendant les trois  
" années ci-dessus dite, à Québec, le 10 8bre 1728.

" (*Signé*) LENTARD."

In " A New Picture of Quebec," the author, Mr. Hawkins, asserts, " That from the period of their renovation by deLéry (1720) the fortifications were maintained by the French Governors with great care, until the capture of Quebec in 1759."

This statement, like many others made by Mr. Hawkins, is directly opposed to the facts. In 1728, the condition of the fortifications was so defective, that an urgent demand was made by the Marquis de Beauharnais and M. Dupuy for an enormous sum of money to place them in a proper state of defence. The King refused this demand, and at the same time said :

" MM. Beauharnais and Dupuy must examine the  
" project maturely in conjunction with the engineers ;  
" draw up a plan of fortification which will not be  
" susceptible to alteration, like previous ones, and  
" transmit it to His Majesty."

Again in 1734, the Marquis de Beauharnais and M. Hocquart wrote to France requesting aid to make such works and repairs as were absolutely necessary, and stated that as their demands of the previous year had been denied, they would place the batteries in good order, and construct others where necessary. In the year 1740, Nicolas Belin made several improvements, and altered the position of the batteries near the palace.

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Notwithstanding the assurance given to the King in 1720, that the works then commenced would meet all requirements, we find that deLéry himself found that they were defective, and on the 5th of June, 1745 he wrote : " Vous verrez, Monseigneur, dans le mé-  
" moire que la face droite du Bastion St-Louis est mal  
" tournée, je propose de la placer autrement."

A lengthy correspondence ensued concerning the proposed changes in the plans, and at last both the inhabitants and the King grew weary of the ceaseless burden. Early in the year 1746 the King gave an order for all the work to be discontinued, which seems to have pleased the majority of the inhabitants. Those in authority, however, viewed this action with alarm, and even the Bishop wrote to the King setting forth the gravity of the situation, and suggesting that if the work were continued the expense to the King might be lightened by the imposition of a tax upon wine and silk.

On the 26th and 30th of July, a meeting was held in the Chateau St. Louis to discuss the question of the fortifications of Quebec, at which the principal officers of the colony, and the chief inhabitants of Quebec were present. At this meeting the majority were in favour of carrying out the instruction of the King, and they declined to be further taxed.

It was proposed that if the works were continued to raise the money upon a tax on wine, but this was not carried, and an arrangement was made for the payment of the work already completed by the con-

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tractors. The existing work, however, was so defective, that urgent repairs were completed in the following year, and extra expense was incurred in 1748 and 1749.

At the request of the Court of France, the Intendant caused a statement of the expenses of the fortifications between 1745 and 1749 to be prepared by de Léry.

The statement made is as follows :—

1745-6.....	189,257- 6-1
1747 .....	54,064-12-0
1748 .....	292,952-15-1
1749 .....	232,900-11-5

In 1750, de Léry made another estimate of the cost of the fortifications for 1750, placing the sum at 147,726-16-4.

Franquet, a French Engineer, was sent out from France to make a report upon the different works, which he did some time after. In his first letter to the Minister, before his final report, he stated that the walls constructed by de Léry were evidently erected without regard to the requirements of the place or the laws of construction. He then points out the various defects, and the remedy which can be applied under the circumstances. In his examination of the work, he discovered that the builders were working without plans, and he communicated this intelligence to the Intendant, who, we find, instructed de Léry in the future to consult with Franquet, and to comply with the suggestions he had made.

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This letter is a very lengthy one, and its suggestions seem to have been acted upon.

When de Léry made another report, in 1757, as to the urgent necessity of further works, the Court determined to have the operations in future conducted under the direction of Franquet, who was instructed to draw up a plan of the work necessary. At the time that Franquet made his report, in 1752, as we find by another letter, in 1753, the work under de Léry was too far advanced to make much improvement, as the walls were already up nearly the height intended, and the new plan would entail the demolition of these walls. These walls were therefore left standing in the meantime, and Franquet's project was postponed. Vaudreuil, in 1757, transmitted to France a list of works proposed, which he could not execute for want of means. The Court, however, entrusted the charge of the fortifications of Quebec to Montbeillard, and ordered the Engineer Franquet to prepare a plan for restoring the defences.

Franquet's plan was sent to France, and received the approval of the King. In November 1757, the Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote to France requesting the return of Franquet's plan, as it would be of great service to the Engineer Pontleroy, in carrying out the instructions of His Majesty.

In 1758, Pontleroy was actively engaged in repairing the most defective part of the walls, but in many places they were so bad, that works were erected in front of them.

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Towards the end of the year Montcalm wrote :

“ Les fortifications sont si ridicules et mauvaises  
“ qu'elle seroit prise aussitôt qu'assiégée.”

In 1759, before any assault had been made upon Quebec, the breaches in the walls could be seen at a distance of five hundred yards ; and Mackellar reported to Wolfe that the works would offer very little resistance.

After the Battle of the Plains, when the British took possession of the city, they found that it was impossible to repair the walls because they were so badly constructed.

Whether de Léry was personally to blame for the defective work, or whether it was solely due to the contractor, we do not know, but Bigot and La Galissonnière complained to the Minister in France that de Léry would not render accounts, and Bigot advised him that the earth required at Quebec would in future be paid for by the toise, and not by half loads containing only a handful of earth. Vaudreuil also stated after the battle, that the walls were badly constructed. Montcalm, too, wrote : But how can you expect that M. de Pontleroy, or any other man in his place can with honesty remain in the country. He must rob or be ruined, for his pay and allowances amount to only 100 Louis d'or : “ You will object to me that these are the  
“ emoluments allowed to his office since the time of  
“ M. de Léry, senior, a great ignoramus in his profession — it is only necessary to look at his works —  
“ who robbed the King like the rest.

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III. From 1759 to 1778, the British Commandants had to make the best of a very bad state of things indeed. The old French works were worthless and the home authorities refused to carry out any new scheme at all. The only thing to do was to throw up temporary works in front of the French walls.

In 1760, the Marquis de Lévis evidently thought he could batter down the then existing works with ease if he had anything like a proper siege train. He says :

“ Il fut décidé, après avoir reconnu la place, “ qu'on couronnoit par une parallèle les hauteurs qui “ sont devant le front des bastions St. Louis, de la “ Glacière et du Cap au Diamant, et qu'on y établirot “ des batteries, d'où on espérait, malgré l'éloignement “ et la faiblesse du calibre de nos pieces, qu'elles pour- “ roient faire brèche, le revêtement étant mauvais “ dans cette partie.”

On the 6th of June, 1762, General Murray transmitted to the King a report of the state of the fortifications of Quebec at that time, from which the following is quoted, as it does not appear to have been published hitherto :

“ Cape Diamond is nearest the river St. Lawrence and is likewise the highest ground, from whence there is a continued slope, sometimes very quick, towards the river St. Charles, in consequence of which the walls not being built upon a level, but humouring the nature of the ground, the flanks of the Bastions cannot defend their opposite faces in a proper manner, for the flanks of the lower ones must throw theirs above it. To remedy this defect, the French built two Counter



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guards or Faussebrays with Casemated flanks, before the right face and flanks of la Glacière Bastion, and the left face and flank of Bastion St. Louis ; this however introduced another inconvenience, of which they appeared sensible when Monsieur de Lévis besieged the Town in 1760, as he directed his fire to this place. which had such an effect, the rubbish of the Wall filling the Counter guard, and that from the lower the ditch, that an easy ascent might have been very soon made to the breach.

“ The high grounds before Cape Diamond and Laglaciere Bastions command all the lower fortifications toward the river St. Charles, and batteries for battering in breach may be erected at any distance, as the walls are high and seen in many places to the bottom of the Ditch, there being no covered way or outworks and even the counterscarp wall not well finished, neither can a covered way be constructed, but at a great expense, on account of the scarcity of earth and irregularity of the ground, besides that it must be crowded with traverses to prevent its being enfiladed.

“ To make up in some measure the want of outworks, in the winter 1759, I erected a line of Block-houses within musquet shot of the capital wall to secure the body of the place against surprises, such outworks are proof against musquetry only.

“ The walls are built of an irregular unwrought stone and in many places the work is very badly executed as was sufficiently visible from the effect of the fire from the French batteries in 1760.

“ The Gates are illplaced and not defended. St. Louis Gate is so near the right face of the Bastion of the same name, that it is beneath its fire, and the opposite flank can have but very little fire on it, that



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of St. Johns has the same fault, being too near the left flank of St. Johns Bastion.

“ The Palace Gate is not much better constructed, and in general this whole front of the place, which indeed is the only fortified one, is enfiladed from the other side of the river St. Charles.

“ The Wall from Bastion Lapotasse to Palace gate, is pierced with loop holes, and is good in its kind. The Barracks which are built against it being also provided with loop holes serve as a second fire. This wall is continued to K and is built upon a Rock.

“ From K to L is a very bad stockade on the top of an accessible rock, with one small stockaded place of arms. This is the part of the Town most exposed to a coup de main.

“ From L to T there is a high Wall with a wooden gallery behind it, to serve as a banquette, and beneath it is a sally port to communicate with the lower Town.

“ From T to the sault au Matelot is a wall begun but carried no higher than a man is able to step upon it, there are here some plat-forms for Cannon and Mortars. From M to M (sic) is the Royal Battery commanding the River St. Lawrence and built upon an inaccessible rock adjoining to the Bishop's palace, part of which was taken in during the late siege to defend the communication from the lower to the higher Town, which was also defended by some Cannon planted at O.

“ From O to P takes in Fort St. Louis and a nine gun battery ; it is by nature inaccessible except two small paths shewn in the plan. Fort St. Louis is of no defence being the remains of the earliest fortifications erected there.

“ From P to Q the Citadel or Redoubt of Cape Diamond, is a quick or rather steep ascent, defended by a stockade only. Betwixt this Redoubt and the Bastions of La Glacière and Cape Diamond is a com-

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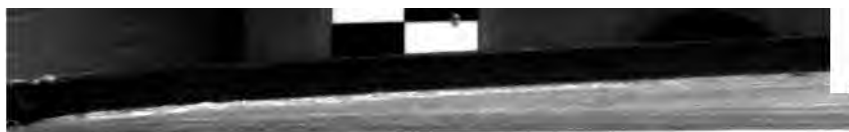
manding ground overlooking the whole Town and Fortifications. This ground I judge very proper for the construction of a Citadel.

" From Q to R the same sort of stockade is continued, and from R to Cape Diamond there is a Wall with loop-holes, defended by two small flanks with Cannon.

" The rocky hill under these parts is very high, but accessible and in many places covered with brush, by the help of which small parties might advance to the very stockades.

" The lower Town is only cover'd by a Stockade and some batteries. The Batteries marked *q* are to defend the road and annoy the shipping in passing the Town. The Batteries *t*, are for the same purpose. They serve likewise to flank the lower Town and the other Batteries.

" From the above report and annexed Plan it appears that the Enceinte of Quebec is very large and would require a very strong Garrison to defend it tho properly fortified. That at present it is open on two sides, has no out works not even a cover'd way nor hardly a ditch, for the foot of rotten walls is to be seen from the most of the Environs at the distance of 500 yards. That the whole Rampart is enfiladed from the other side of the River St Charles, and that in its present situation, with a Garrison of 3000 men it is not proof against a well conducted Coup de main. Any temporary works that can be added, would be of little signification, as matters now stand ; and to fortify the place upon the old plans is by no means advisable, the situation never can be render'd strong, and the attempt must cost an immense sum. I therefore am of opinion that if His Majesty shall think proper to be at the expense of strengthening Quebec, the most effectual method will be to erect upon the rising ground of Cape



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Diamond, a Citadel which will answer every purpose of the Towns being strongly fortified, may be defended 4 months at least by a small garrison, awe the Inhabitants, whose fidelity in case of an attack we cannot for some years rely on, and secure our Magazines. The ground I propose for this Citadel commands the whole Town and is commanded no where from the Country ; in short it possesses every advantage to be wished for, and at a small expense may be fortified, as the Inhabitants of the Country and the Troops in the time of peace may contribute their labor towards it gratis ; to this the former can have no objection as they were on all occasions formerly liable to Military services and were all allow'd only provisions.

" I order'd Captain Holland to take an accurate survey of the ground and have the honor herewith to transmit (a) the several plans he has drawn in consequence."

We have seen that under the French régime, representations which were not always complied with, were frequently made to France for aid towards the construction of fortifications at Quebec. Under the British régime, similar conditions prevailed.

The official correspondence of the Governors from 1764 until 1811, is burdened with suggestions and demands in this direction. On the 29th of May, 1769, Guy Carleton wrote to Lord Hillsborough concerning the fortifications, in these words :

" It is now long since I transmitted to Lord Shelburne, accompanying my letter No. 20, the plan of a citadel for Quebec ; at that time, I expected the Engineer, Captain Gordon, who made but a short stay here in 1767, agreeable to my orders, and his promise,

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would have drawn up an estimate of the expense ; as he has never done this, at least that has come to my knowledge, I again transmit said plan with an estimate annexed, made out by Engineer Marr, who arrived here last fall from Halifax ; I have already said so much of the expediency and utility of such an undertaking, that I have now little to add, I am however, to observe to Your Lordship, I have found it the general opinion of the Canadians that if Admiral Durell had pushed up in May, 1759, with only a small part of the army, the town might have been taken before the Governor in Chief could have sent there any assistance from Montreal, where and in the upper Country all the troops were collected to defend the entrance by the Lakes ; that after the defeat of their army upon the Plains of Abraham, the 13th of September, altho' they had eight Battalions and forty companies of regular troops, with fifteen or sixteen thousand warlike militia in the field, after having had four months time to strengthen the town, they apprehended the same so indefensible that it surrendered immediately, before one single battery could be opened against it ; and that if in the succeeding year the remains of ten brave Battalions were enabled to hold out until the arrival of our fleet, it was in a great degree owing to Monsieur de Levis' army being in want of artillery and ammunition.

“ For the foregoing reasons therefore as well as the many others before alledged, I must humbly recommend that essential and salutary work to be set about as soon as possible.”

For twenty years after the Siege of Quebec no repairs were made to the French walls, although temporary works to defend them were constructed. During Arnold's expedition against Quebec the situa-



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tion of the city was indeed perilous, and on the 6th of December, 1775. Montgomery wrote to Carleton stating that he was aware of its defenceless condition.

The only fortifications which Montgomery and Arnold attacked were the two barricades in Lower Town, thrown up for temporary defence of Quebec in 1775, although Arnold had erected works in the vicinity of the present Parliament for the purpose of attacking the walls. On the night of the 31st of December in that year, Arnold carried the Sault-au-Matlot barricade, which faced the north east and ran from the cliff to the river along the line of the present St. James street. Montgomery's simultaneous attack failed before the Près-de-Ville barricade, which faced south and ran across the present Champlain street from the cliff to the river, just under the present Citadel. There was also a one gun battery on a ledge about fifty or sixty feet below the present Citadel. This gun should have supported the defence of the barricade ; but the officer in charge failed to do his duty properly.

IV. In 1778, the Home authorities at last began to listen to reason ; but their action was dangerously slow for those stirring years. And none of the works then made were really permanent.

During the earlier correspondence of the Governors we come in contact with a familiar figure during the Siege of Quebec, George Townshend, which proves that his interest in Canadian affairs did not cease with the capitulation of Quebec. The serious consideration of building a citadel at Quebec, under British rule,



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dates from 1778. In the month of October, in that year, the Governor wrote :

“ In obedience to the commands given to me by  
“ your lordship, I shall not fail to take the proper steps  
“ for erecting a citadel at Quebec in such situation as  
“ assisted by the Engineers I shall be able to judge it  
“ most advantageous, the plans and estimates of which  
“ shall be transmitted as soon as they can be made and  
“ considered.”

In a letter dated the 18th of June, 1779, addressed to Lord Townshend, Governor Haldimand clearly sets forth the condition of affairs in Quebec, and his requirements at this time. The letter is therefore quoted at length :—

“ Very soon after my arrival in this Province I  
“ was convinced that the resources I was master of  
“ were by no means adequate to begin the construction  
“ of a formidable Citadel at Quebec, so as to afford  
“ any reasonable hopes that it could assist us during  
“ the present Rebellion, and therefore I immediately  
“ resolved to content myself with making such necessary preparations as can be done without interfering  
“ with our present Defences, and yet such as may  
“ induce and enable the Government to push forward  
“ with vigour, when the situation of public affairs  
“ make it expedient so to do—by adopting this plan  
“ there will be sufficient time to obtain and compare  
“ different ideas, so as at last to determine upon some  
“ thing which may be adapted to the ground, the  
“ climate and the Government, and your Lordship is  
“ so well acquainted with these particulars that I must  
“ request your assistance, in this difficult task.”

“ Major Holland, who arrived here a few days  
“ ago from Halifax, informs me that in 1762, or there-

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“ abouts, he gave General Murray Plans, sections and  
“ estimates of a Citadel, all of which were forwarded  
“ to England, and are now in the drawing room of  
“ the Tower, and as Major Holland has no copy, I beg  
“ Your Lordship to indulge me with exact copies of  
“ the whole by the first opportunity, as your lordship  
“ must be sufficiently acquainted with the merit and  
“ ability of this officer, to know that some attention  
“ may be paid to his opinion. Captain Marr, who is at  
“ present the Senior Engineer in the Province, I found  
“ stationed at Quebec by General Carleton, and the  
“ entire direction of all other forts, etc., put under the  
“ direction of Captain Twiss I continued this regula-  
“ tion both because I thought it for the good of the  
“ service, and as far as I could learn, that it was also  
“ your lordship's intention that it should be so—a  
“ more thorough knowledge of these gentlemen has  
“ convinced me that I was right, and as Captain Marr  
“ is now old and infirm I have this summer consented  
“ to the request he made last fall (though late) of  
“ returning to England, and I shall order him to lay  
“ before your Lordship his remarks upon Cape Dia-  
“ mond, together with his proposals for a Citadel, and  
“ I do earnestly request that your Lordship will apply  
“ to His Majesty to have Lieut. Twiss appointed Chief  
“ Engineer of this Province, as I have found his zeal,  
“ activity and ability equal to the important trust, and  
“ although he has the misfortune to be low in rank, I  
“ am informed that he has been 19 years in the service,  
“ and very actively employed during the whole of that  
“ time.”

By a letter of the 18th of June, 1779, the Governor informed Lord Townshend that plans were being prepared by Captain Twiss and Mr. Hunter, but that he hesitated to send them to England, “ fearful lest

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" they should fall into improper hands, and for this reason, and in consequence of his private affairs, I have consented to give Lieut. Slack leave to go to England."

Very little work could be accomplished on account of the lack of materials and of tools, besides the scarcity of workmen. In order to carry out the projected works the Governor organized a company of artificers, but Lord Townshend objected to its formation, and instructed the Governor to employ loyalists in the construction of any works undertaken.

The failure of the "True Britain" to reach Quebec, deprived the Governor of a valuable cargo of military supplies, and consequently the proposed improvements had to be postponed.

The plans prepared by Captain Twiss at this time, provided for the construction of those walls which were subsequently built beyond the line of the present fortifications.

The remains of these British works are still plainly visible on the western side of Cape Diamond. This was the first and only time that any fortifications were thrown up on this spot. There were none at all at the time of the French; and they were discarded in the British scheme of 1823. Their whole military existence therefore is bounded by the limits of the period which we are now discussing, viz, from 1778 to 1823.

The progress towards building the long discussed citadel was very slow. By a letter addressed to Haldi-

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mand on the 30th of November, 1779, Lord Townshend does not appear to have been satisfied with the manner in which his suggestions regarding Quebec were received. He writes :

“ I hope my former letter was received respecting  
“ the corps of artificers which you have determined as  
“ necessary upon Captain Twiss's recommendation ;  
“ all I can say is, that whenever the Secretary of  
“ State for the Department refers to me for my opinion  
“ upon the subject of Canada, I shall give my opinion  
“ as explicitly and frankly as I did some years ago  
“ upon a Citadel for Quebec, which I lament to say  
“ has never been done, and of which I have never  
“ heard anything after.”

Lord Townshend refers to the subject again in a letter dated the 15th of December, 1779 :

“ With regard to the Citadel proposed at Quebec,  
“ I am happy to find that a Post of such importance  
“ is not laid aside. My opinion was asked upon this  
“ subject some time ago, and I should have been sorry  
“ to have been so ignorant of the place and of the  
“ Province, to have hesitated giving my opinion in the  
“ fullest manner.”

A year later, in October, 1780, no progress had been made. General Haldimand wrote to Lord Townshend as follows :

“ In our present situation your Lordship must be  
“ sensible that we could not begin the construction of  
“ a regular Citadel, but we have endeavoured to take  
“ every possible advantage of the ground, and have  
“ occupied the Cape with several detached redoubts,  
“ which I hope will soon be capable of some defence.

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“ Captain Twiss has applied for permission to send to  
“ your Lordship plans of the works now constructing.”

The plan prepared by Captain Twiss, a copy of which is before us, shows :

- “ 1. The condition of the ground upon which it is proposed to construct certain works extending beyond the walls (that is, those works which have been regarded as of French origin.)
- “ 2. The nature of the proposed works as suggested by Captain Marr, distinguished by yellow lines, and those proposed by Captain Twiss, coloured red.”

The only building within the area of the present citadel at this time, of any importance, was the Citadel Redoubt. The Hangman's Redoubt, on Cape Diamond and the Powder Magazine, were only temporary affairs, constructed between the years 1760 and 1769.

Amongst the eighty manuscript plans of Quebec made by British officers, which have recently been collected through the exertions of His Excellency, Lord Minto, is a remarkably fine plan in colours, bearing this title :

“ Plan of the Town and Suburbs of Quebec, showing the Fortifications as they were nearly completed in October, 1783. The Fortifications of this Town were not in any degree finished by the French, and the English never repaired any part of them previous to October, 1779, when His Excellency, General Haldimand gave his instructions to Captain Twiss, Commanding Engineer in Canada, for the construction of a temporary Citadel on Cape Diamond.”

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This statement which is on the plan made by Captain Twiss, the Commanding Engineer, and bearing his signature, is in direct opposition to all the local historians, but the student, no doubt, will attach more importance to the writing of the Engineer and the official correspondence of the time, than to the statements of those who wrote over a hundred years after the events, and were not in possession of the material now available. This temporary citadel embraced nearly the same area as that enclosed by the present walls, which was at first suggested by Major Holland, and it also extended nearly to the steps leading to the river, including those works which have been regarded as belonging to the French régime.

These plans show what works there were upon the Cape during the old régime, and also the commencement and progress, and final abandonment of these old walls.

On the plan made by Captain Twiss in 1783, these famous walls are shown as being nearly complete, and they are referred to as follows :—

(aa) " New works whose Terre Plein are mostly excavated in the solid rock, they together form a temporary Citadel."

The buildings executed within these walls, which extended beyond the present line, were :—

(bb) " New roads of communication for artillery." (The entrance to these extended fortifications was behind the King's Field, a plot of ground having a frontage of 550 feet on the south of the Grande Allée, opposite the Parliament )

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(*e*) "Reservoirs for water which is tolerably good, though rather hard, however they are at all times tolerably supplied."

(*mm*) "Counter mines formed of cedar pickets under the Glacière bastion."

These were the works constructed by the British in 1779, and completed in 1783, the remains of which have been regarded as the ruins of the French works.

The works erected by the British at this time within the main walls, that is, within the area of the citadel proper, were :

"(*ee*) Temporary bomb proofs made of timber, and will lodge :

" c. 1, 62 men	c. 2 82 men	c. 3 16 men
" c. 4, 36 men	c. 5 230 men	c. 6 125 men
" c. 7, 205 men	c. 8 234 men	c. 9 230 men
" c. 10, 230 men	c. 11 86 men	c. 12 50 men
533 men	632 men	421 men

"(*ff*) Sheds for carriages.

"(*g*) Workshops for all branches.

"(*hh*) Three counterguards to cover the detached redoubts with curtains to cover the communication from one redoubt to another, were not finished, and are almost the only part of the new works which are not."

"1. Port St. Louis Gate from thence towards the new Citadel, the ditches and glacis are levelled the parapets and ramparts are likewise completed.

"(*k*) St. John's Gate, from hence to port St. Louis Gate there is no glacis and the ditches are in

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“ so rude a state by the French having excavated the  
“ earth from between the rocks that they are impassable not only for carriages, but also on horseback.  
“ The parapets and ramparts for this part are finished,  
“ and a very extensive Esplanade with proper ramps  
“ is almost completed behind these works.

“ (1) Barrack Bastion whose parapet and rampart  
“ etc. are finished, but the parapet and rampart between it and St. John's Gate as well as the ditches  
“ and glacis in front of this extent remain in the rude  
“ state in which the French left them, and are not  
“ capable of any proper defence.

“ (2) Ground purchased by the Government for  
“ a wharf not yet commenced.”

The Citadel constructed under Captain Twiss was never intended for a permanent structure, and the correspondence between the Governors shows that they were repeatedly making demands for substantial means of defence. When they realized that the necessary aid was not forthcoming, and that repairs were urgently needed, the Governor ordered a complete survey to be made with a view of again placing the various works in a state of temporary efficiency. This survey was completed in 1790, and certain works were at once commenced.

By a plan made in 1804, we find that there were very slight alterations effected between the year 1783 and 1804, the most notable was a battery on the summit of the extended walls overlooking the path to the river. In the citadel proper, we find an ordnance store, constructed in 1800, and a powder magazine built in 1801.

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In 1804 another plan was drawn up for the construction of three Martello Towers. Towers No. 1 and 3 were commenced in 1805, and finished in 1810. Tower No. 2 was commenced on the 11th of May, 1809, but it was not completed until 1818. Tower No. 4 was not completed until 1823.

The Commanding Engineer in Canada, Captain Nicolls, prepared an excellent plan of the city, its environs, and the whole of its defensive works. The colours of this plan are remarkably bright, and the lettering is a fine specimen of the penman's art. It bears the title, "Plan of Quebec, showing the present state of the works of Defence, distinguishing those which are complete and what are in progress, with the military works and buildings that have been ordered, 18th March, 1816."

On this plan we find that the works beyond the present line, which have been hitherto regarded as of French origin, were partly dismantled. The reservoirs were removed, and the only building was the advanced blockhouse.

Within the Citadel proper, the following works are described :—

1. Telegraph (on Cape Diamond) ; 2. Stone Powder Magazine ; 3. Fire Proof Ordnance Stores ; 4. Cape Diamond Bastion ; 5. Glacière Bastion and Barracks ; 6. Shot Yard ; 7. Wooden Ordnance Sheds ; 8. Temporary Officers' Barracks (of wood) ; 9. Casemated Barracks and Cavalier ; 10. Temporary Barracks ; 11. King's Cavalier ; 12. Another Powder Magazine ; 13.





*The Citadel.*



*July 12, 1862*



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St. Louis Bastion with Bomb Proof Barracks, Guard House and Cook House ; 14. Wooden Ordnance Stores and Sheds ; 15. Wheeler's Shop ; 16. Provision Stores ; 17. Large Temporary Powder Magazine ; 18. Telegraph and Flag Staff ; 19. Powder Magazine.

The large temporary Powder Magazine occupied the site of the Governor-General's Quarters. This plan is very detailed, and the names of all Public Buildings in every part of the city are given. Amongst the works described on this plan are the Powder Magazine and the Cistern on the Esplanade, and a Powder Magazine at St. John's Gate. Two Guard Houses, and a Cooking House are shown in the course of construction near the Jesuit's Barracks.

These works served until the construction of the magnificent Citadel, in 1823, carried out on the basis of the plans of Holland and Twiss, by Lieut.-Col. Durnford, with additions by Colonel Mann, the main parts of which are to be seen to-day, and require no further description.

V. In 1823 the first and last great permanent scheme was taken in hand and carried out during the next nine years to what was considered a satisfactory conclusion. The total cost was \$35,000,000.00. All the existing fortifications date from these years and nothing material has been added since. The chief changes have taken place in the gates, most of which have disappeared altogether, and others have been rebuilt in ornamental forms. Hope Gate was first built in 1786. It was altered in 1823-32, and strength-

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ened outward in 1840. It was finally demolished in 1874.

St. John's Gate was first built under Frontenac ; removed by de Léry in 1720 ; rebuilt in 1791 and again in 1867 ; and demolished in 1898.

St. Louis Gate was built under Frontenac, appearing first in his plan of 1693. It was rebuilt in 1721 ; altered in 1783 ; again rebuilt in the scheme of 1823-32, and replaced by the present arch in 1873.

Prescott Gate was built in 1797, rebuilt in 1823 ; and demolished in 1871.


Palace Gate, first built under Frontenac, was restored in 1720 and again in 1790. It was rebuilt in 1823-32 in imitation of the Nola and Herculaneum Gates of Pompeii. It was demolished in 1864.

Kent Gate was built in 1879, Her Majesty Queen Victoria contributing to the cost, in memory of Her father, the Duke of Kent after whom it was named.

Chain Gate, forms a part of the works undertaken in 1823-32, and protects the road to the citadel, known as Citadel Hill.

Dalhousie Gate, which forms the entrance to the Citadel, was erected in 1827, during the administration of Lord Dalhousie.

VI. When the progress of military science had shown that distant and detached fortifications would be required, a new scheme was formulated for the defence of Quebec and three forts on the Levis heights were erected between 1865 and 1871. The scheme never resulted in anything further. These forts have never



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been manned nor armed ; but they are still in fairly good order and capable of service in case of necessity.

Since then there have been various other schemes mooted ; but, as none of them have ever resulted in any tangible form, our survey of the fortifications of Quebec must close here.

We must once more remind the reader that there are no old French works of any kind now in existence, and that the works on the west face of Cape Diamond were of purely British origin ; appearing first in the temporary scheme of 1783 and disappearing again in the permanent plan of 1823.

It is impossible either to look back on this long and stirring history, or to look forward to the heritage of Quebec in future generations, without entering a strong protest against any scheme for throwing down the walls, or any portion of them.

It is true that they are not so very old and that they lack the historic charm of containing at least some remains of the old French works. But, on the other hand, they are most interesting in themselves, and doubly so because they still mark the lines followed by those which existed in the days of Wolfe and Montcalm. Moreover, they have the priceless advantage of making Quebec absolutely unique among all the cities of America. It may be that if Quebec were to lose all claim to being the one walled city of the western world, she might still remain a queen among her sister cities. For her superb, unchallengeable throne was founded in strength and set here in beauty by

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Nature ages long ago. But it was Man who came and crowned her. And where the works of Nature and of Man have so perfectly combined in one befitting glory, it would surely be an abject desecration to discrown her now. For let it be clearly understood that the true disgrace of any such schemes lies in their very wantonness. Of course necessity knows no law ; and of course everything must accommodate itself to its surroundings in the struggle for existence, or die out. We all know that. And of course if war should ever require the destruction of the present walls ; then they must be destroyed. And, equally of course, if peaceful traffic should ever really require it, then they must disappear just the same. But, as a matter of certain fact, neither war nor peace require any such sacrifice at all. Modern defences would be far away from the city ; and the walls around it could not do any harm, and might conceivably do good. And, as for peaceful every day traffic, it already has all the natural outlets that it requires, and can pass freely to and fro at will, without let or hinderance, inwards or out. Indeed it may be truly said, that the walls are now no more of a material barrier to traffic to-day than their memory would be should they be wantonly thrown down to-morrow. But the greatest plea in their favour is that they are the living symbol of a glorious past, in which the honours of war were equally divided between French and English, and for the living monument of which, therefore, French and English alike should stand united. The waterfront is the same from which



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Frontenac hurled steadfast defiance at the discomfited fleet and army of England ; and the landward face follows the same line of defence which stood there when the two greatest masters of the art of war ever seen in Canada fought for the dominion of a continent — the profound and aspiring Wolfe, and the equally great, though unfortunate, Montcalm.

And so these present walls really stand as a link between the twin honours of two gallant races, as well as what should be a perpetual link between present, past and future.

And their own mute appeal is more eloquent of all living honour than all the vain words that might record them after they had disappeared for ever.







## CHAPTER VII

1735

### LE CHIEN D'OR

HISTORY AND ROMANCE—LOCAL HISTORIANS—  
HAWKINS AND LEMOINE—KIRBY'S "GOLDEN  
DOG"—DEATH OF PHILIBERT BY THE HAND OF  
REPENTIGNY—NOT IN THE DAYS OF THE  
INTENDANT BIGOT—THE TRUE STORY OF THE  
DEATH OF PHILIBERT—JUDGMENT AGAINST  
PHILIBERT—EXECUTION IN EFFIGY

**N**EARLY every visitor to Quebec desires to see the  
old stone inserted in the walls of the Post Office,  
bearing this inscription :—

JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE L'OS  
EN LE RONGEANT JE PREND MON REPOS  
VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI N'EST PAS VENV  
QVE JE MORDERAY QVI M'AVRA MORDV

The dog, the bone, the inscription and the house,  
have given rise to many conjectures. In the absence  
of any satisfactory solution, the imagination has been  
pressed into service, and as the result, we have in the  
pages of history and of fiction, more than one interesting  
story founded thereupon.

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The stone, we may reasonably suppose, was first placed in position in the year 1735, over the entrance of the house built and owned by Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, a merchant of Quebec. A tragedy occurred in connection with the house, resulting in the death of Philibert by the hand of Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny.

Twenty-three years after the stone was placed in its position, the people of Quebec do not appear to have been able to invent a romance concerning the house, or to recall any facts relating to the golden dog. Captain Knox, who lived in Quebec for some time after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, in 1759, in referring to the inscription over the entrance to the house built by Philibert, says :—

“ The true meaning of this devise I never could learn, though I made all possible inquiries, without being gratified with the least information respecting its allusion.”

Distance lends enchantment, and in the course of time picturesque details were forthcoming in abundance.

It became necessary to link the facts with the name of some important individual, in order to give colour to the stories that were invented. The early writers were content with the modest name of Michel Bégon, Intendant of New France from 1712 to 1726.

Hawkins, nearly always inaccurate both as to circumstances and dates, says in “ Picture of Quebec,” page 258, published in 1834 :—

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“ Freemason's Hall. This building is immediately  
“ opposite to the General Post Office, situated in Buade  
“ Street, near the steps leading through Prescott Gate,  
“ to the Lower Town. The house formerly had an  
“ uninterrupted view in front as far as the wall of the  
“ Seminary, the buildings which now intervene being  
“ of modern date. It is remarkable in the local history  
“ of the city, for a representation in stone over the  
“ entrance from Buade street, of a dog gnawing a bone,  
“ with an inscription in French. This having been  
“ always gilt, has acquired the name of Le Chien  
“ d'Or ; and the following explanation has been handed  
“ down to the present day :—Mr. Philibert, who resided  
“ in the house, was a merchant of high distinction  
“ during the time when Mr. Bégon, whom we have  
“ mentioned above, was Intendant of New France.  
“ The latter had formerly been a merchant of Bordeaux,  
“ and came to Quebec in 1712. Differences occurred  
“ between him and Mr. Philibert, over whom superior  
“ interest and power gave Mr. Bégon every advantage.  
“ Unable to obtain redress for his injuries, real or  
“ supposed, Mr. Philibert bitterly, although covertly,  
“ expressed his sentiments under the image of the  
“ Chien d'Or, to which he added the following inscription in old French :

JE SUIS UN CHIEN, ETC.

“ Bégon determined on revenge, and M. Philibert  
“ descending the Lower Town Hill, received the sword  
“ of M. de R. . . . ., a French officer of the garrison,  
“ through his body. The perpetrator of this murder  
“ made his escape and left the Province ; but the crime  
“ was too atrocious to be forgiven. The brother of  
“ M. Philibert came to Quebec to settle the estate,  
“ with a full determination of taking vengeance on  
“ the assassin. So determined was he to execute this

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“ part of his mission, that having ascertained that M. de  
“ R..... had gone to the East Indies, he pursued  
“ him thither. They met in a street of Pondicherry,  
“ engaged on the spot — and the assassin fell mortally  
“ wounded under the sword of the avenger. The  
“ Chien d'Or remains to perpetuate this tale of blood-  
“ shed and retribution.”

Twenty-four years after the appearance of Mr. Hawkins' work another version of the story was given in “Reminiscences of Quebec derived from reliable sources” published in Quebec in 1859. The author discards Mr. Bégon, and transfers the scene to the days of the Intendant Bigot.

“ Passing towards the Lower Town, a large  
“ building, occupied as a Post Office, will be observed ;  
“ over one of the windows, formerly the main entrance,  
“ is a Gold Dog ; the following curious history attaches  
“ to this Dog ;

“ The house was built by Mr. Philibert, a mer-  
“ chant residing in Quebec, in the time of Mr. Bigot,  
“ the last Intendant under the French Government,  
“ and whose drafts upon the Treasury, for the expenses  
“ of this country were so enormous that one of the  
“ queens of that kingdom archly enquired “ whether  
“ the walls of Quebec were built of gold.” But to  
“ return to the chien d'or, M. Philibert and the  
“ Intendant were on bad terms, but under the system  
“ then existing, the merchant knew that it was in  
“ vain for him to seek redress in the colony, and  
“ determining at some future period to prefer his com-  
“ plaint in France, he contented himself with placing  
“ the figure of a sleeping dog in front of his house,  
“ with the following lines beneath it, in allusion to his  
“ situation with his powerful enemy ;

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JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE L'OS  
EN LE RONGEANT JE PREND MON REPOS  
VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI N'EST PAS VENV  
QVE JE MORDRAI QVI M'AVRA MORDV

“ This allegorical language was however too plain for Mr. Bigot to misunderstand it. A man so powerful easily found an instrument to avenge insult, and Mr. Philibert received, as a reward for his verse, the sword of an officer of the garrison through his back, when descending the Lower Town hill. The murderer was permitted to leave the colony unmolested, and was transferred to a regiment stationed in the East Indies. Thither he was pursued by the brother of the deceased, who had first sought him in Canada, when he arrived here to settle his brothers affairs. The parties, it is related, met in the public street of Pondicherry, drew their swords, and after a severe conflict, the assassin met with a more honourable fate than his crime deserved, and died by the hand of his antagonist.”

Sir James LeMoine gives us several versions. The first that we notice is in “ Maple Leaves,” published in 1863. In this volume Sir James condenses the account of Soulard, and incorporates the criticism of Mr. Viger.

In “ Maple Leaves,” published in 1873, Sir James gives many particulars about the house owned by Philibert, concerning which we need not write, as the deeds of the property are published herewith. On page 91 we find this passage :

“ The romance, as composed by Auguste Soulard, esquire, and published in the Répertoire National, was a graceful and fanciful effusion. This witty Barrister cut off so prematurely in the heyday of his

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“ success, especially as a *littérateur*, still lives agree-  
“ ably in the memory of his *confrères*. There are  
“ few unacquainted with his *novelette*, whilst his  
“ critic, Mr. Jacques Viger, has exhibited remarkable  
“ acumen and a deep acquaintance with dates : the only  
“ point worthy of remark, is that the grave critic  
“ appears to have taken the novel for history and criti-  
“ cised it accordingly. We shall merely give the  
“ conclusion :

“ Nicolas Jacquin Philibert was a Quebec mer-  
“ chant, somehow or other he had incurred the dis-  
“ pleasure of the Intendant Bigot, perhaps for refusing  
“ to aid him in his peculations and extortions. The  
“ Intendant, in order to annoy Philibert, had billeted  
“ troops on him, and ordered a French Lieutenant by  
“ name Pierre Legardeur, *Sieur de Repentigny*, to  
“ quarter on the Quebec merchant. This incensed  
“ Mr. Philibert very much, and when the Lieutenant  
“ attempted to enter the house with the order, Phili-  
“ bert objected, saying that he would have the order  
“ recalled, to which *de Repentigny* replied : “ You  
“ are a fool.” A blow from a walking stick was the  
“ answer. The officer then drew his sword, and  
“ inflicted on his opponent a wound of which he died  
“ on the 21st January, 1748. The deadly thrust is  
“ supposed to have been given on the very steps of  
“ the *Chien d'Or* building, which he occupied. *De*  
“ *Repentigny*, in order to elude a criminal prosecution  
“ escaped from Quebec, and retired to Nova Scotia,  
“ then called *Acadie*, where he applied to *Louis XV*  
“ for his pardon. Letters of reprieve and pardon were  
“ sent out from Paris, and *de Repentigny* returned to  
“ Quebec with these letters, in order to meet any oppo-  
“ sition which the widow Philibert might urge, when  
“ he should apply to the Superior Council of the colony  
“ to have them registered. Mrs. Philibert having been



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“ indemnified by pecuniary compensation for the loss  
“ of her husband did not oppose de Repentigny's let-  
“ ters of indemnity. The French Lieutenant remained  
“ in the colony, and had been promoted to a captaincy  
“ in 1760, at the time when he was serving under the  
“ Chevalier de Levis. Everything seemed to presage  
“ to de Repentigny's forgetfulness of the past, and a  
“ promising future ; everyone seemed to have forgot-  
“ ten Philibert's untimely end, and how the family's  
“ respected chief had been cut off in the prime of man-  
“ hood, and its prospects blighted forever by the  
“ dastardly act of one of the Intendant's minions.  
“ All seemed to have forgotten these facts ; all, save  
“ one person, and this was a young man who had just  
“ seen twenty three summers ; his name was Pierre  
“ Nicholas Philibert. Severe in his demeanour, studi-  
“ ous and reserved in his habits, young Philibert had  
“ grown up to manhood, the chief support and con-  
“ solation of his widowed mother. At times several  
“ had remarked on his austere but beautiful face, a  
“ sombre expression, which would immediately melt  
“ into a subdued sadness, the real cause of which few  
“ seemed to suspect. Beloved, as he certainly was by  
“ all who knew him, it was a mournful day for the  
“ forlorn widow, when followed by some friends she  
“ escorted her eldest son to the lower town wharf, on  
“ his way to France to obtain a commission in the  
“ army. Whether he succeeded or not does not appear.

“ Ten months after his departure, Madame Phili-  
“ bert one morning, received a letter ; it came from  
“ Europe. On breaking the seal, the first words which  
“ met her eye were as follows :—

“ ‘ My dearest mother, We are avenged ; my father's  
“ ‘ murderer is no more.’ The two had met at Pon-  
“ dicherry, in the East Indies. De Repentigny had

" fallen under the sword wound which young Philibert  
" had inflicted upon him in a duel."

To this, Sir James adds :—

" In Hawkin's ' Historical Picture of Quebec,'  
" published in 1834, occurs a plausible explanation of  
" the enigmatical verses inscribed on the *basso-relievo*  
" of the Chien d'Or. Mr. Bégon, Intendant in New  
" France, formerly a merchant in Bordeaux, had  
" arrived in Quebec in 1712. (1) Philibert quarrelled  
" with him touching some claims he had preferred  
" against the Government. Failing to make them  
" good, Philibert caused the following words to be  
" engraved over the front of his residence, beneath the  
" likeness of a dog gnawing a bone..... It seems  
" impossible to unearth the truth, from under these  
" old traditions. Here rests a store most ample of  
" materials for the novelist. Time lends to legendary  
" lore, a most fragrant aroma, spreads flowers over  
" tombs and gleams of poetry over common place  
" things long since forgotten. Alexandre Dumas,  
" who weaved a beautiful romance about the Tower of  
" Nesle, could have found here the ground work for  
" an exciting tale, wherein that war-like period—the  
" eighteenth century—with its dark deeds of blood  
" and revenge, would have stood out in bold relief.  
" If, on one hand, Philibert is a victim which moves  
" us to pity ; on the other, it seems incomprehensible  
" that de Repentigny should have drawn his sword  
" about such an insignificant quarrel. Was it merely  
" an ordinary instance of soldier-like brutality ? Was  
" it a deed of personal revenge, or else, was de Repen-

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(1) It may be mentioned here that at the time of the arrival  
of Bégon, Philibert was only 11 years of age, so that he must have  
commenced business in infancy !

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"tigny merely the instrument, the sycophant of a  
"mightier man? Whatever we choose to suppose,  
"that drop of blood lights up with sinister glare, the  
"gloom of years which overshadows the old structure.  
"So much for romance."

The answers to the questions raised by Sir James in this quotation, concerning the death of Philibert, may be found in the official records, published in the appendix.

We will now briefly examine the work which has made the old house so familiar to the public. "The Golden Dog," by Mr. Kirby. This book contains a very interesting romance, and if Mr. Kirby had presented it to his readers simply as a work of fiction, we should not feel called upon to pass any remarks upon it. Mr. Kirby, however, makes other claims for his work. In the preface to the last revised edition, 1897, he says:

"The result is the present edition, which I have corrected and revised in the light of the latest developments in the history of Quebec."

This statement is very misleading, because the main features of the work have no foundation in fact.

Before producing the proof in support of our assertion, it is necessary to briefly describe the manner in which Mr. Kirby links the names of Philibert and Repentigny with Bigot and the golden dog.

We have already seen that the earlier writers on this subject found it convenient to represent this miserable, hungry looking dog as a cause of offence to someone, but they appeared to be unable to determine

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with any certainty, who the offended person should be. One suggested Bégon, and another Bigot. Mr. Kirby, however, as he desired to be accurate, seized upon Bigot, as a man with whose character the imagination could safely run riot. It mattered not whether Bigot was Intendant of New France at the time, or whether his victim had been dead and buried long before the appointment of the last Intendant of New France. Bigot was the man, and at any sacrifice he must be made to take offence at this rude simulacrum of an ill-fed dog. The dog, moreover, was an offensive, vindictive dog, who could afford to wait for a time "qui n'est pas venu."

According to the story, Bigot looked at the dog, and that look was sufficient to bring on the stage a series of extraordinary complications, very interesting as fiction, but very disappointing when compared with the more sombre facts of history.

On page 157 of "The Golden Dog" we find this passage :—

"I trembled at Bigot in the old land ! I tremble at him here, where he is more powerful than before. I saw him passing one day. He stopped to read the inscription of the Golden Dog. His face was the face of a fiend, as he rode hastily away. He knew well how to interpret it."

From that moment, the fate of Philibert was sealed. It is not necessary for our purpose, to follow step by step the intrigue and debauchery by which, in the story, Bigot accomplished his end, and caused the death of Philibert.



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On a certain St. Martin's Day, Nov. 11, the honest Philibert, as Mr. Kirby describes him, dressed himself with great care to attend the market, and paid no heed to his faithful servant, who warned him that evil would overtake him. Philibert was determined, and taking his sword with him he proceeded to the market. While there, Le Gardeur de Repentigny was seen "very drunk and wild with anger, in the act of leaping off his horse with oaths of vengeance against someone" . . . . . "Le Gardeur and De Lantagnac rode furiously through the market, heedless of what they encountered or whom they ran over, and were followed by a yell of indignation from the people, who recognized them as gentlemen of the Grand Company. It chanced that at the moment a poor almsman of the Bourgeois Philibert was humbly and quietly leaning on his crutches, listening with bowing head and smiling lips to the kind inquiries of his benefactor as he received his accustomed alms . . . . . " "The Bourgeois saw them approach, and motioned them to stop, but in vain. The horse of De Lantagnac just swerved in its course, and without checking his speed ran over the crippled man, who instantly rolled in the dust, his face streaming with blood, from a sharp stroke of the horse's shoe upon his forehead." Then followed Le Gardeur "yelling like a demon," and the attempts of the Bourgeois to protect the poor cripple. "Le Gardeur spurred his horse madly over the wounded man who lay upon the ground; but he did not hear him, he did not see him. Let this be said for Le Gardeur, if aught can be said in his defence, he did not see him."

The Bourgeois checked Le Gardeur in his mad course, while those who were around watched eagerly for the fight which they were sure would follow. Le Gardeur jumped from his horse and attacked the

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Bourgeois, but was prevented from doing much mischief by some of Philibert's friends. At this moment Angélique appeared. "With a plunge of her horse she forced her way close to Le Gardeur, and, leaning over him, laid her hand upon his shoulder and exclaimed in a voice choking with passion—"What, Le Gardeur, you allow a ruffian like that to load you with blows, and you wear a sword!"

"It was enough. That look, that word, would have made LeGardeur slaughter his father at that moment.

"Astonished at the sight of Angélique, and maddened by her words, as much as by the blow he had received, LeGardeur swore he would be revenged upon the spot. With a wild cry, and with the strength and agility of the panther he twisted himself out of the grasp of the habitants, and drawing his sword, before any man could stop him, thrust it to the hilt through the body of the Bourgeois, who not expecting this sudden assault, had not put himself in an attitude of defense to meet it. The Bourgeois fell dying by the side of the bleeding man who had just received his alms, and in whose protection he had thus risked and lost his own life."

So much for the death of Philibert. Mr. Kirby then deals with Repentigny, representing him as asking some one to bind him, but no one would undertake the task. Then we find that the court decided to send him to France by the *Fleur-de-lys* in order that the King might judge his offence, and later we learn that he was a prisoner in the Bastille. "LeGardeur, after a long confinement in the Bastille, where he incessantly demanded trial and punishment for his rank offence of



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murder, as he ever called it, was at last liberated by express command of the King, without trial, and against his own wishes."

It would require more space than is at our disposal at the present to examine in detail the work of Mr. Kirby, but the passages which we have quoted are a sufficient illustration of the circumstances concerning three individuals mentioned in the book, which Mr. Kirby asks his readers to accept as being in accordance with the history of Quebec.

We now produce proof of the contrary. Unfortunately, for our purpose, the documents relating to Philibert, Repentigny, Bigot, and the Chien d'Or, are very voluminous, and in the present work we can only publish a selection, which, however, will be found quite sufficient to support our assertion, that the romance woven around the names of Bigot, Repentigny and Philibert, by Mr. Kirby, is entirely without foundation in fact.

Philibert was wounded by Repentigny in the house of a woman named La Palme, on the 20th of January, 1748, and he died from the effect of this wound, in his own house, at about ten o'clock on the evening of the 21st of January. Repentigny was tried, condemned, and his sentence was executed on the 20th day of March, 1748, in the Lower Town. Bigot was not appointed Intendant of New France until the 2nd of September, 1748, and therefore all Mr. Kirby's interesting events which are coupled with the name of the Intendant, are without foundation.

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The death of Philibert occurred at the time that Hocquart was Intendant of New France, and Philibert, instead of being an independent merchant, as Mr. Kirby claims, was an army contractor, filling the rôle in a smaller capacity, that was filled by the notorious Cadet, under the régime of Bigot.

Hocquart, according to the testimony of Montcalm and others, was a very honest man, who made no profit out of his position as Intendant, while the integrity of Philibert was, perhaps, questionable. The circumstances of the death of Philibert, gathered from the evidence of the six witnesses at the trial,—Bouchard ; Demeulle, a cooper ; Pierre Voyer ; Joseph Delorme ; Dumont ; Mrs. Dumont, and the evidence of the surgeons, are, briefly, these :

On the 19th or 20th of January, 1748, Pierre Le Gardeur Repentigny, who for some time had lived in the house of a Miss or Mrs. LaPalme, paying her six francs per month for his room, <sup>(1)</sup> received an order to take up his lodging with Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, merchant and army contractor. On receiving notice of this order, Philibert proceeded to the house of La Palme, and endeavoured to persuade her to continue to give lodging to Repentigny ; but being unable to agree with her as to the price which she asked for such lodging, ten francs per month, Philibert declared that he would have the order changed. This remark was

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(1) From the records in civil cases it would appear that La Palme's was a boarding house. Repentigny was living there in 1747.

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made within the hearing of Repentigny, who thereupon told Philibert that he was a simpleton to try to have the order changed as he would not be inconvenienced by the lodging which he was required to give. Philibert, naturally of a hasty temper, became violent and used very gross and insulting language, and finally struck Repentigny with a stick. This was more than the officer could stand, and without premeditation, he drew his sword and inflicted a wound upon Philibert, from which he died on the evening of the 21st.

On the 20th, Philibert took a criminal action against Repentigny, who in the meantime had been advised to proceed to Montreal. On the 21st of January Philibert died, after having forgiven his assailant. A warrant was immediately issued for the arrest of Repentigny. Early on the morning of the 22nd the Comptroller of Marine, Foucault, made a report to the Intendant Hocquart, requesting that the goods of Philibert should be seized and placed under seal, until such time as his indebtedness to the Government was ascertained. This order was granted and Philibert's goods were seized, and an inventory made.

On the 22nd of January, at the request of the widow, and of the Procurer, an order was given for an autopsy to be performed on the body of Philibert, to ascertain the nature of the wound. The autopsy was made in the presence of the surgeon Beaudoin, by the surgeon Briant. Philibert was buried on the 25th of January in the parish Church in the presence of a large number of people.

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Repentigny did not appear in answer to the warrant within the prescribed delays, and on the twenty first day of February the trial proceeded, and a copy of the proceedings, wherein the widow claimed the sum of thirty thousand livres damages, was ordered to be served upon Repentigny at his last domicile, in Quebec.

Final judgment was rendered on the 20th day of March, 1748. By this judgment Repentigny was declared guilty of causing the death of Philibert, and he was condemned to pay 8,000 livres damages with interest, to the widow Philibert, and the cost of the proceedings, 2,000 livres, while the balance of his property was declared confiscated. And, in reparation, in view of his quality as a gentleman, he was condemned to have his head cut off on a scaffold to be erected for the purpose in the public square of the Lower Town.

This sentence is, at first sight, startling, but its terror is considerably modified by the concluding words of the judgment, " And the present sentence shall be " executed in effigy on a picture to be placed for the " purpose on a pole in the public square."

The King's Procurer demanded the execution of the judgment, and there is a certificate attached to the original document setting forth that it was duly executed on the same day. While all these proceedings were going on, Repentigny was at Fort Frederic, and in the course of time various persons began to intercede for his pardon, as they considered him more unfortunate than culpable.

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On the 17th of August, 1748, La Galissonnière, the Governor, and Hocquart, the Intendant, transmitted a copy of all the proceedings to the Minister in France, and recommended a pardon for Repentigny.

On the 1st of September, Repentigny himself sent a petition to the King asking for letters of grace, and his petition was supported by a letter from the Bishop of Quebec, dated the sixth of September.

In the month of April, 1749, the King signed letters of grace, pardon and remission, which were sent to Quebec. On the eighth day of September, Repentigny gave himself up to justice, and was imprisoned in the common gaol of Quebec.

Notice of the letters was served upon the widow Philibert, and on the second day of October, Repentigny, bareheaded and upon his knees, witnessed the registration of the letters of grace in the records of the Superior Council, to which Mrs. Philibert offered no objection. After the registration of these letters, Jonquière wrote to the Minister to the effect that the widow and children had represented to him that if Repentigny remained in the colony, they would have the unpleasantness of seeing the author of the death of the merchant. The Governor suggested that Repentigny could serve in Martinique or in Louisbourg, but, pending the decision of the King, he would be stationed at Montreal. Repentigny served for some time in Montreal, and, in 1759, he was promoted. At length, Repentigny returned to France and gradually rose in rank until he became a Brigadier General. In

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the course of time he was appointed Governor of Mahé, where he died of natural causes in the year 1776, twenty-eight years after the death of Philibert.

Sir James LeMoine, and other writers have claimed that Repentigny was at the siege of Quebec, but this is not correct. The numerous documents in the possession of Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, of Lévis, which have been placed at our disposal, and the correspondence of descendants of the family, prove that it was a member of another branch who served in the campaigns of 1756-1760.

It will be seen from this short sketch, and from the documents published in the appendix, that Mr. Kirby's story is completely at variance with facts, and that as a historical novel, which he claims it to be, it is absolutely unreliable. The Colonel Philibert, who plays such an important part in the story was, at the death of his father, aged just 10 years and eight months. In a future publication regarding the Chien d'Or and the Chateau Bigot, we will be able to show other instances of pure fiction which are presented to us as history.

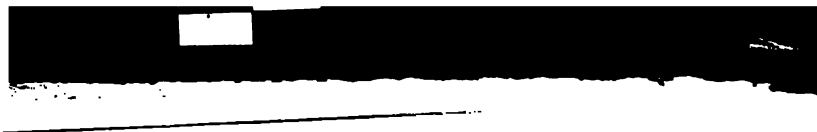
The meaning of the inscription is still unsolved. The miserable, hungry-looking dog is content to gnaw his bone, and is still waiting for the time "qui n'est pas venu." Some of the fiction, however, has been swept away, which we were invited to accept as truth, and perhaps in the future, when the time of the dog is ripe, some one may find an explanation of the dog, the bone and the inscription, which have given rise to so many interesting stories.

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The documents numbered 2, 3, 14, 15, published in the appendix, have kindly been placed at our disposal by Mr. Philéas Gagnon, whose services we have so often had occasion to acknowledge. The other papers, numbered 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 are to be found in the archives of the Province and in Ottawa.

We are indebted to Major Crawford Lindsay, official translator of the Province of Quebec, for the translation of the documents, published at the end of this book.









PLACE D'ARMES, QUEBEC - 1832







## CHAPTER VIII

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1760-1812

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### QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

GENERAL MURRAY — THE TREATY OF PARIS — THE COUNCIL — SIR GUY CARLETON — ATTITUDE OF THE CANADIANS — MONTGOMERY — HIS ATTACK AND UNFORTUNATE END — HALDIMAND — A TEMPORARY CITADEL — LORD DORCHESTER — ELECTION OF SPEAKER — A QUESTION OF LANGUAGE — NEWSPAPER WARFARE — BEDARD AND TASCHEREAU — CRAIG'S ADMINISTRATION.

Immediately after the capitulation in 1759, military rule was established in Quebec, pending the result of the negotiations between England and France. The first two years appear to have been comparatively happy ones for the people of the city, under the régime of General Murray ; but in the course of time discord arose between the old and the new inhabitants, and for the next quarter of a century the official correspondence is burdened with complaints, and with suggestions for improving the condition of affairs,

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The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 10th day of February, 1763, gave to England supremacy in Canada. Under this agreement the inhabitants were allowed the freedom of their religion, "in so far as the laws of Great Britain can permit." This clause has been interpreted by eminent English statesmen to concede to the colonies the free exercise of the Catholic religion. The spirit of toleration manifested by the British Government at this time, was far in advance of the age, for it is only within recent years that Catholics in England have enjoyed the same privileges as Canadians. The Protestants of Quebec viewed with alarm the concessions made to their one-time foes, and there is no doubt that the triumph of the Catholic Church in Canada, gave rise to much of the ill will which prevailed for a long time between the two races. In this age, when there is no question of religious freedom to disturb the minds of the people, it is difficult to understand how deep was the gulf which separated the Catholic from the Protestant more than a hundred years ago.

General Murray, the third Brigadier under General Wolfe in 1759, was appointed Governor in 1764. He had played an important part at the Battle of the Plains, and he it was who led the British troops when they suffered defeat in 1760.

Murray remained in the country, and had become thoroughly acquainted with the people and with the needs of the colony. In his report to the King, made in June, 1762, he gave the general and staff officers of Quebec at that time, as follows :

## QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

The Honourable James Murray, Esq., Governor.  
The Honourable Lieut.-Col. Maitland, D.A.C.  
Governor Murray's leave to the Southern Colonies.  
Lieut.-Col. Irving, Quarter-Master General.  
Hector Theo. Cramahé, Secretary to the Governor.  
Lieut. Mills, Town Adjutant.  
Captain Malone, Barrack Master.  
Captain Cosnan, Town Major.  
Governor Murray's leave to England for the recovery of his health.

Zachariah Thompson, Captain of Ports.

### *Engineers:*

Captain Lieut. Spry,        }  
Lieut. Montrésor,        } Established.  
Captain Holland, Assistant.

### *Officers of His Majesty's Hospital:*

Mr. Francis Russell, Chief Surgeon.  
Mr. Field,                }  
Mr. Mabane,             } Mates.  
Mr. Zachariah Filtner, Provost Marshal.  
Benjamin Gable, Hangman.

In speaking of the first winter in Quebec under British rule, Murray said :

“ I can with the greatest truth, assert, that the  
“ troops have lived with the inhabitants in a harmony  
“ unexampled even at home. I must here, in justice  
“ to those under my command in this Government,  
“ observe to your Lordship, that in the winter which  
“ immediately followed the reduction of this Province,  
“ when from the calamities of war, and a bad harvest,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ the inhabitants of these lower parts were exposed to  
“ the horrors of a famine, the officers of every rank,  
“ even in the lowest, generously contributed towards  
“ alleviating the distress of the unfortunate Canadians,  
“ by a large subscription ; the British merchants, and  
“ traders readily and cheerfully assisted in this good  
“ work, even the poor soldiers threw in their mite,  
“ and gave a day's provisions, or a day's pay in the  
“ month, toward's the fund ; by this means a quantity  
“ of provisions was purchased and distributed with  
“ great care and assiduity to numbers of poor families  
“ who without this charitable support, must have  
“ inevitably perished. Such an instance of uncommon  
“ generosity towards the conquered did the highest  
“ honour to their conquerors and convinced these poor  
“ deluded people, how grossly they had been imposed  
“ upon.”

Murray's first important act as Governor, was to choose a Council in whom the executive, legislative and judicial powers could be vested. The Council was composed of the Lieutenant-Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers, the Chief Justice and the Inspector of Customs, and of eight of the most prominent inhabitants.

The Governor was judicious in his dealings with the French-Canadians, and he endeavoured to make them feel that under the new régime they would enjoy a measure of liberty greater than under the old. Murray appears to have been supported in this policy by many of the English, but there were some who bitterly resented the tolerance of the Governor, and at length their complaints were carried to England. The British Govern-

## QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

ment, if it realised the situation, found it difficult to apply a remedy that would reconcile the two opposing classes. New laws were proposed and enacted, but little relief was derived therefrom. The process of reconciliation was to be worked out slowly, with very little aid from legislation.

A new Council was authorized, to be composed of not less than eight, and not more than twenty members, and a tax was imposed to provide for the administration of the colony. Murray had great faith in the future of Quebec and always worked for its development. During his term of office, the buildings were restored which had been ruined by the British batteries in 1759.

Sir Guy Carleton, who had been knighted for his services under Wolfe, succeeded Murray in 1766. Like his predecessor, he was favourably disposed towards the French population, and persistently defended their rights in the face of opposition, both at home and abroad. The correspondence of Carleton is worthy of a careful study. He appears to have been almost alone in understanding the real position of the people. England had conceded certain rights to the Canadians, and had admitted them to her family. They were in the majority, and consequently to a certain extent the English, under the Constitution, were subject to what they considered a foreign yoke. This condition was irritating to the dominant spirit of the English who, not unnaturally, regarded the country as theirs by the right of acquisition.

The position was a peculiar one, but much of the





*The Death of General Montgomery.  
After the painting by J. Kneller*

*1759*



## QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

gomery commenced to carry out his plan, and for a moment it appeared that the fate of Quebec for a second time would be decided by a stroke equally as bold as that of the immortal Wolfe. Proceeding along the road at the base of the cliff, the forces under Montgomery approached the city until they stood at the foot of Cape Diamond. Fortune had favoured them so far, and there seemed to be naught save the frowning cliff between them and victory. In a moment the stillness of the early morn was broken by the roar of murderous cannon, mingled with the cries of the wounded, and in that moment, the dauntless leader was numbered with the dead. With the fall of Montgomery and his brave followers the hopes of the expedition were crushed, and the flag of England still waved over the heights of Cape Diamond.

The body of the unfortunate general was conveyed to a house on St. Louis street, the site of which is still pointed out to the visitor as "Montgomery's House." The General and several of his soldiers, were buried near the walls of the city, on Citadel Hill.

Frederick Haldimand came to Quebec to replace Carleton as Governor, in 1778. The new appointment was not popular, and, indeed, it would have been very difficult to find a man who could replace Carleton in the hearts of the people. The Governor was regarded by many as a despot, but a study of his correspondence and of his public acts, leads one to believe that he has been misrepresented. Haldimand had a difficult path to tread. The Canadians, however well disposed,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

could not have forgotten the turn of events in 1759-1760, and only the most judicious treatment could reconcile them to the change of Government. The Home authorities did not understand the responsibilities imposed upon them by their new possessions, and they had yet to learn the lesson of prudence in dealing with the colonies. Haldimand was upright in his dealings, but he was not adapted to the administration of a colony where such extraordinary conditions prevailed. He has been charged with permitting officials to live by extortion, but his greatest fault appears to have been, that he relied too much upon the honesty of those under him, who distorted facts to serve their own ends. Haldimand was very zealous in his endeavours to place the city of Quebec in a proper state of defence, and it was under his régime that the first Citadel of Quebec was constructed. Being unable to preserve harmony, the Governor at length retired.

When Sir Guy Carleton returned to Canada as Governor, under the title of Lord Dorchester, he was welcomed on every hand, for he thoroughly understood the people and enjoyed their confidence. The social life of Quebec had never been so brilliant as under his régime. The frequent entertainments given at the Chateau were spoken of long after as great events. During the summer of 1787, Quebec was honoured by the presence of a royal visitor, Prince William Henry. Great preparations were made to receive the prince, and on the 27th of August a sham battle was arranged on the Plains of Abraham. At eleven o'clock the

## QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

procession issued from the Chateau and proceeded up St. Louis Street, amidst the cheers of the people, to the open ground beyond St. Louis Gate. The royal party included the Governor, and the escort was composed of the 20th and 34th Regiments, under the command of Brigadiers Hope and Skene.

The Canadians at this time were not satisfied with their condition. They desired greater political freedom than they obtained under the Act of 1774, and they looked to the Governor for redress. Self government would have satisfied the people, but this Great Britain was not prepared to grant. Certain measures were proposed, and Lord Dorchester deemed it advisable to proceed to England to urge the cause of the colony. In 1791, an Act was passed which gave to the people greater liberty, and to the Governor increased prestige amongst the French. To many of the English, however, it caused great dissatisfaction. Although the demands of the French at this time appear now to have been just, we must bear in mind that during the French régime the Canadians scarcely knew the meaning of the word liberty. Under the iron rule of the last of the Intendants the farmers were not even allowed to sell the produce of their land at such prices as they were offered for it, if these prices were not provided for by regulation. It is true that the people had sworn allegiance to the British Crown, and were entitled to its protection, but the Government may be excused for hesitating to entrust to them any great

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

measure of political freedom, until it was satisfied that they would not abuse it.

The 17th of December, 1792, marked the opening of the first session of the first Parliament of Quebec. There were thirty five French and fifteen English members elected by the voice of the people. Amongst the most prominent were Joseph Papineau, Pierre Bédard, James McGill, P. A. de Bonne, J. Frobisher, J. A. Panet, J. Young, de Salaberry, Hertel de Rouville and Charles de Lotbinière.

The House sat on this occasion in the old episcopal palace built by Monseigneur de Saint Vallier. It was a fine stone building situated at the top of Mountain Hill, facing the river, and had proved an easy mark for the British shells during the siege of Quebec in 1759. The Chapel, sixty feet in length, by thirty feet in breadth, was converted into a chamber for the legislative assembly. It was upon the site of the Palace that the Parliament House stood until it was destroyed by fire in 1883. The ground has been laid out as a public garden and is now a very attractive spot.

There was an animated debate over the election of the first speaker, and the French carried the vote by a majority of 10 in favour of Antoine Panet, a prominent citizen of the Upper Town, and a man of great legal ability. The English candidates for the office were McGill and Jordan.

The members of the first assembly were of course little accustomed to parliamentary usage, and there

## QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

was much confusion as to procedure, but many of the members possessed a knowledge of both languages which facilitated intercourse.

One of the most important subjects under discussion during the first session was the question of the official language of the Province. The French naturally desired to retain their own language, while the English fought strenuously for the English tongue as being the language of the reigning country. Only one French member supported the English side of the question, and consequently the French carried their point. A lengthy debate ensued regarding the disposal of the revenues derived from the Jesuits' estates. The Catholic members of the House were in favour of the fund being devoted to educational purposes, but there was a stormy opposition, and the measure was defeated. The House was opened by Sir Alured Clark, the Lieutenant Governor, in the absence of Lord Dorchester. In the Speech from the Throne, the organization of the militia was suggested, and reference was made to the administration of Justice, and to the means to be adopted to increase the public revenue.

The Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, had arrived in Quebec on the 12th of August, 1791, and the House adopted an address of welcome to the the illustrious visitor.

The Duke remained in Canada until the 5th of January, 1794, and many brilliant entertainments were given in his honour by the civil and military authorities. Quebec had made great progress under Lord

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Dorchester's régime, and when he departed for England on the 9th of July, 1796, universal regret was expressed.

To the French Canadians, Lord Dorchester had been a warm friend. He was a lover of justice, and strove on every occasion to bring about a better understanding amongst the people for their mutual good, and the progress of the country.

Sir Robert Prescott succeeded Lord Dorchester in 1797, but his term of office only lasted two years. The late Governor had made himself so popular, that it was difficult for any one to replace him. One of the Gates in Quebec was named after this Governor. Lady Prescott, a very distinguished woman, was a great favourite in Quebec and a welcome visitor at the Ursuline Convent.

Sir Robert Shore Milnes was appointed administrator of the Province after the departure of Prescott. The Royal Society for the promotion of Science was founded under his auspices. Criticism was directed against him for his distribution of Crown Lands in the Eastern Townships, which it is claimed were allotted to his friends.

The session of 1805 was a stormy one. Money was necessary for building gaols, but whether to provide the sum required by the taxation of landed property, or by a tax upon goods imported for consumption, became the question of the hour. The merchants were unanimous in opposing the measure, although it appears to have been a rational method.



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1925-1926



St. Mary's

Prescott, Cal.





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## QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

The House finally imposed a tax upon the merchants, exempting the agricultural classes, and the measure was sanctioned by the Governor in the face of vigorous opposition. As most of the merchants at this time were English, they became very bitter against the French.

The *Mercury*, a newly established paper, espoused the cause of the merchants :

“ This Province,” it said, “ is already too French for a British colony. Whether we be at peace or at war, it is essential that we should make every effort, by all avowable means, to oppose ourselves to the growth of the French and of their influences. After forty-seven years of possession, it is but right that this Province should become British.”

To counteract the influence of the *Mercury*, the French established the *Canadien*. It had no regular editors, but its chief contributors were Pierre Bédard, Borgia and Taschereau. Bédard was a talented advocate, who had made a careful study of British constitutional history. As a debater in the House, he had the advantage over the majority of the members on this account, and he soon became recognized by the French as the champion of political liberty. The numbers of the *Canadien* published between 1806 and 1810, contain an outline of the policy which he advocated. *Fiat justitia ruat cælum*, was the motto chosen by Bédard for the *Canadien*, and in carrying out his purpose, as expressed in these words, he soon became involved in the most serious difficulties with his oppo-

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

nents. The *Mercury* continued its programme, and the *Canadien* supported its own side of the question, although neither paper was devoted exclusively to this warfare.

Bédard wrote powerful articles on constitutional questions with which he was familiar, and he pointed out the benefits to be derived from the British Constitution if properly applied to this Province. The *Canadien* only lived for three years. Under the authority of Governor Craig, it was suppressed as being dangerous in its tendencies. The *Mercury*, on the contrary, continued to flourish, and is in active circulation to-day.

This paper warfare was only the beginning of the trouble. The Americans had not forgotten the check they received in 1775, although they began to despair of ever taking possession of Canada, and the press along the borders commenced to insinuate that the Canadians were disloyal and were anxious to throw off the yoke of Great Britain. The English papers in Canada were for the most part neutral, but some were only too eager to widen the breach, and at last open violence was resorted to. The printing offices of Lafrancois were wrecked, and Bédard, Taschereau and Blanchet, were arrested and cast into prison on the charge of plotting treason.

Craig's action, which was taken at the instance of his councillors, was the subject of bitter criticism, and he issued a manifesto defending his course. Monseigneur Plessis, the Bishop of Quebec, read this mandate from the pulpit of the Cathedral, and enjoined obedience



## QUEBEC UNDER BRITISH RULE

to constituted authority. The prudent advice of the Bishop, no doubt, prevented serious consequences at this time.

Taschereau and Blanchet were set at liberty, and Bédard would have enjoyed his freedom had he not demanded a trial, which the Governor refused.

The general elections were held a week after the incarceration of Bédard, and he was elected for the county of Surrey. When the House opened in December, the Governor informed the Assembly that Bédard had been arrested during the recess and committed for trial for treasonable practices.

Instead of striking his name from the list of members the House declared that he was qualified to sit, and drew up a memorandum to this effect.

During the session of 1811 the Governor presented to the House a full statement concerning Bédard's arrest, and concluded by saying that the time had come to put an end to this unfortunate affair. Bédard was discharged from custody, but his gaoler was obliged to use force to compel him to leave the prison. He had been denied a trial, but public opinion seemed to consider that Pierre Bédard was not the real criminal. He appears to have been an upright man, and the Governor was ill advised in causing his arrest.

Craig has been looked upon as a tyrant, but we are inclined to think that his advisers were to blame, and, indeed, his own remarks seem to point to this fact.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

M. de Gaspé in his "Memoirs" says, "I have it upon authority beyond suspicion, that of my uncle, Charles de Lanaudière, a member of the Legislative Council, a strong tory if ever there was one, and who approved of nearly all the arbitrary acts of the oligarchy; I have it I say from that undeniable source, that Sir James Craig told him before his departure for Europe, that he had been shamefully deceived, and that if he had to begin the administration of the Colony over again he would act differently".

Craig's administration had been unfortunate in some respects, but nevertheless he had carried out many useful public works in spite of internal discord. After his departure it was discovered that the high officials who remained were more to be feared than the late Governor.

The conflict between the two Houses continued. Administrative abuses increased; malversation in office was discovered, and it became apparent that a crisis was at hand. The *caveant consules* resounded within the parliamentary precincts, but there was no one found to heed the warning.







**QUEBEC LOYAL ARTIFICERS**  
or Faugh a Ballagh



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ARMED SIXTH ANTIPOLO  
in "Hugger & Belling"



## CHAPTER IX

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### ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

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THE CHAPTER OF QUEBEC — MONSEIGNEUR PLESSIS  
— PROTESTANTS IN QUEBEC — BISHOP MOUNTAIN  
— EDUCATIONAL MATTERS — THE SEMINARY —  
M. DEMERS — THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN  
QUEBEC.

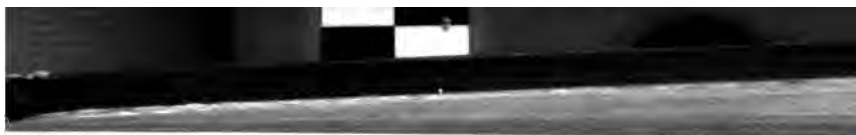
**T**HE action of the Chapter of Quebec in appointing permanent curés in several parishes during the absence of Monseigneur de Mornay, the Bishop, caused much comment in ecclesiastical circles. Monseigneur Dosquet, the fourth Bishop of the Diocese, called upon all the curés appointed by the Chapter, to resign, and, although they complied with his demand, there was a season of discontent. The Minister in France addressed the Bishop on the subject, but his lordship proved by his answer that the course he had adopted had been in the best interests of the Church. He said : “ Out of “ one hundred parishes comprising the diocese of “ Quebec, twenty, only, have titular curés, and these “ are in the vicinity of Quebec. This course of action

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ has always been followed in nascent churches, and  
“ cannot be otherwise in Canada, for there are missions  
“ extending over twelve and fifteen leagues. It is  
“ necessary, for the honour of the clergy, for the good  
“ of souls, and for the good government of the diocese,  
“ that a Bishop should dispose of his priests according  
“ to the views with which Providence inspires him.”

After the death of Monseigneur de Pontbriand, the sixth Bishop of Quebec, in 1760, the See remained vacant until 1766, when Monseigneur Briand received the mitre, upon the recommendation of General Murray. Under the Treaty, the British Government had a voice in the election of a Bishop, and when the name of Monseigneur Montgolfier was suggested, the Government strongly opposed his candidature.

General Murray had conferred a great benefit upon the Church in Canada by recommending the nomination of the seventh bishop of Quebec. In the year 1784, the health of Monseigneur Briand gave way, and he transferred the responsibilities of the diocese, as well as his title, to his coadjutor, Monseigneur d'Esglis. The latter, in accordance with a custom that had long prevailed, appointed Monseigneur Hubert as his coadjutor, in 1785. On the death of Monseigneur d'Esglis, in 1788, Monseigneur Hubert appointed as his coadjutor Monseigneur Bailly de Messein, who died in 1794, leaving the office of coadjutor vacant. His successor had already been named, viz. Joseph Octave Plessis, who for five years had filled



#### ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

the office of curé of Quebec, and on the death of Monseigneur Denaut, the tenth Bishop, he became the titular Bishop of the diocese.

Monseigneur Plessis is by far the most prominent figure in Catholic ecclesiastical life from the year 1760 until 1840. Although he disappeared from the scene of active labour fifteen years before the Union, it may be confidently asserted that the influence of his life and labours was felt long after his death. Even before he was consecrated Bishop he was recognised as a power in the Church, and as a director by his countrymen. In 1783 he was named Secretary of the Diocese of Quebec. While he occupied this office he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his superiors and also of his inferiors. As Monseigneur Briand was in ill health, and lived in retirement at St. Pierre, on the Island of Orleans, many of the responsibilities of the diocese, extending as far as New Orleans, devolved upon him. The first official act of Monseigneur Plessis was to appoint as his coadjutor, Monseigneur Bernard Claude Panet, curé of Rivière Ouelle, his former professor. As the latter was ten years older than the Bishop, there did not appear to be any probability of his wearing the mitre as Bishop of Quebec. Monseigneur Plessis was thoroughly conversant with the situation of affairs in Quebec. He was acquainted with all the men, from the Governor to his secretary, and when he accepted the responsibilities of the office he was quite prepared to meet with opposition in England and in Canada, and to labour faithfully for the glory of the church,

# QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

	James Shepard	George Hipps
	James Johnston	James Rutherford
	John Purse	Robert Jackson
	Stephen Wadsley	100. Robert Wilcocks
65.	Peter Napier	Sam'll Askwith
	John Malcolm	John Williams
	George Jenkins	Charles Minnet
	Christopher Spring	James Isbister
	George Milner	105. James Laying
70.	Jacob Deseau	Ralph Gray
	George McAdam	Will. Douglass
	James St. Clair	Will. Webb
	John Taylor	Will. McGrabb
	Will. Abbott	110. Jacob Trader
75.	Sam. Duncan	Joseph Thompson
	John Billar	Richard Dee
	Zach. McAuley	John Holman
	Gilbert McRandell	James Britton
	Peter Leakin	115. Philip Bayne
80.	Miles Prentice	Will. Wright
	John Campbell	James MacDonald
	John Black	Henry Goldup
	John Fisher	John Vallance
	Lachlan Smith	120. Donald McDonald
85.	Michael Smith	John Fraser
	John Deleau	John Clark
	John Watts	Will. Osburn
	John Engelke	Alex. McArther
	John Ord	125. John Lee
90.	Jacob Row	John Callahan
	John Hay	Benjamin Walmer
	Edw. Harrison	John May
	Murdock Stewart	Frans. Sickel
	James Hanna	130. — Gilmoor
95.	Daniel Bayne	Will. Brown
	Will Brymer	John Saules

## ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

	Jacob Stegman	140.	John Platt
	John Sitly		Richard Gray
135.	Peter Mike		James Young
	John Miller		William Gunn
	William Graham		Thomas Aylwin
	John Smith	—	
	William Brown	144	in all.

“ I do certify that every Protestant housekeeper  
 “ in the District of Quebec is included in this List,  
 “ and that, to the best of my knowledge there are  
 “ not ten Protestant freeholders in the Province,  
 “ consequently not ten Protestants qualified by the  
 “ Laws of England to be jurors.

JAS. MURRAY.”

The English residents were so small in number that it is apparent their position must have been keenly felt. They viewed with alarm the growth of the Church, and the spread of Catholic education, and fought hard against the determination of the ecclesiastical authorities to retain control of every form of instruction. The proposal of the English to found an University from the revenues derived from the Jesuits' Estates gave rise to heated discussions. The Catholics feared that if the institution were established it would be a simple matter to impose conditions which would eventually give the balance of power to the Protestants. Monseigneur Hubert strongly opposed the project, and it fell through. The English, however, were not to be discouraged, and they formed a Royal Institution for the Promotion of Primary Education.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

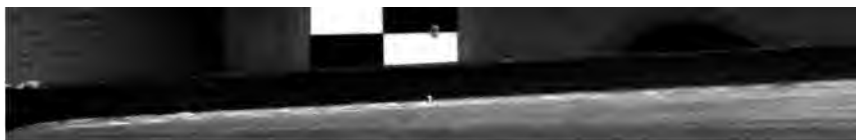
The majority of the directors were Protestants, but as the Catholics refused to avail themselves of the instruction offered, the institution became a dead letter. The Protestants made another effort to bring education under the control of the Government, by demanding that the Bishop should draw up a list of the vacant curés each year in order that his recommendations might be submitted to the Crown. The appointment of a Bishop need the approval of the Crown, in the same manner as nominations have been submitted to the Government of France since 1802.

The English and the Protestants of Quebec from the conquest to the present time have always had the special educational difficulties which minorities must expect. Yet it would not be hard to prove that a century ago efforts were put forth in an organized way to procure education, that would bear comparison, all things considered, with the efforts of to-day.

From the time of the conquest private schools were provided, educational societies were formed, and schools were supported by the Church <sup>(1)</sup>. The want of superior education, however, was keenly felt. A part of the English boys attended the Seminary, while others were sent away to colleges in the United States. In 1799 Bishop Mountain drew the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir R. S. Milnes, to the danger

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(1) The National School Hall on d'Auteuil Street, although no longer used as a school, perpetuates the name of the National and Free School Society, whose work has long been carried on under our public school system.



### ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

to which the political principles and the loyalty of British subjects would be exposed if urgency compelled the sending of children to the colleges of the republic. He recommended that at least one good grammar school be founded in this Province and be officered by capable masters from England. It was soon determined to carry out his suggestion, but dissensions in the Province, the distraction of the war in Europe, and later the war of 1812, delayed the execution of the project. It was not till 1816 that three Royal Grammar Schools were opened, one in Quebec, one in Montreal, and one in Kingston. The Reverend R. Burrage was the master in Quebec at a salary of £200 a year with an extra allowance for rent and similar expenses. This school was continued till 1839 when Lord Sydenham, for reasons which are unknown, suppressed it by withdrawing the grant and pensioning Mr. Burrage.

Four years later the Quebec High School was opened by the conversion of Dr. Daniel Wilke's private classical and commercial school into a public school. In 1846 it secured recognition as the legitimate successor of the Royal Grammar School and a grant from the public chest. This grant, now \$1288. per annum, it has continued to receive to the present time. In return it educates, free, twenty pupils a year who are nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. Although the attendance at the school is naturally not large a competent staff is employed and good work is done. The traditions of the school are elevating. Most of the prominent and successful English speaking men of



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Quebec have been trained within its walls, and the Rectors from Mr. Burrage to Mr. T. Ainslie Young, M.A., the present able incumbent, have as a rule been superior men, instructors who have given a character to the school and have left an impress upon their pupils. Recently it has been amalgamated with Morrin College, an institution which was founded in 1859 by a liberal citizen whose name it bears. In its earlier days, under the Principalship of the late Reverend Dr. Cook, Morrin College did good work as an arts college in affiliation with McGill University, and as a divinity school. Its financial limitations have latterly prevented the progress that was necessary to keep pace with McGill and to compete with her for pupils. As a consequence the arts work has been dropped, the divinity school closed, and an amalgamation effected in such a way as to respect the intentions of the late Dr. Morrin.

Morrin College itself, the old Quebec Jail, will soon be razed to the ground and replaced by a modern building for the High School, in which rooms will be reserved for the Literary and Historical Society.

The School Commissioners provide for primary education in a building which cannot be a source of pride to them or of satisfaction to the citizens, and for the superior education of girls in the Girl's High School, situate on St. Augustin St.

For twenty-nine years after the Treaty, the Protestant Church in Canada was without a Bishop, but in 1793 the Government decided to erect a Canadian

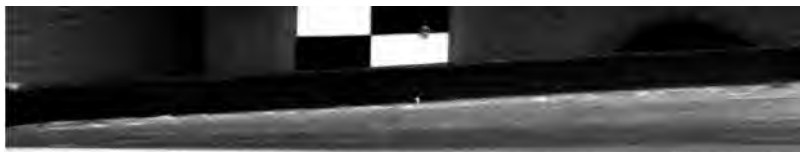


## ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

See, and appointed Doctor Mountain as the first Bishop. The account of the Bishop here given is taken from a "Memoir by the Rev. Armine W. Mountain, M.A., Incumbent of St. Michael's Chapel, Quebec," published in 1866 :

" Dr. Mountain had himself been known to Mr. Pitt at Cambridge, where he had been a fellow of Caius College, and the Bishop's recommendation was willingly adopted. Neither of the persons more directly concerned in this measure appears to have had reason to regret it, for we find it mentioned in Tomline's life of Pitt, as a testimony to the wisdom of the statesman's measures, that the first Bishop of Quebec had presided over the Canadian Church with 'great honour to himself and advantage to the concerns of his extensive diocese,' while Dr. Tomline's own biographer, in his turn, brings forward this appointment as a proof of the Bishop's good judgment, displayed in his recommendation of Dr. Mountain. Dr. Mountain having been consecrated on the 7th July, 1793, embarked almost immediately for Quebec, accompanied by his wife, (Elizabeth Mildred Wale Kentish, co-heiress, with two sisters, of Little Bardfield Hall in Essex) and four children, of whom George was second. A residence in Canada in the eighteenth century involved so complete a separation from English friends, that all the members of the Bishop's family, and one of his sisters, the future Bishop's godmother, resolved to share his exile. His elder brother, Dr. Jehosaphat Mountain, Rector of Peldon, in Essex, with his wife and two daughters, as well as his own two sisters, accordingly accompanied him, and after a voyage of thirteen weeks, the thirteen Mountains landed at Quebec on All Saint's Day. The Bishop proceeded immediately to Woodfield,





### ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

up had they not been suggested from here by someone who, under the new order of things, hoped once more to concentrate authority, and take away the control of affairs from those most interested in the welfare of the country."

This paragraph reveals the situation at this time as viewed by the French Canadians, and the indignation of the Bishop, as expressed in this quotation is only natural.

We have already seen that the Seminary of Quebec had at first opened its doors to young men desirous of entering the priesthood. Monseigneur de Laval soon added a boarding school to it for little children and Indians ; the latter attended the classes in the Jesuits College. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the young men received their education in the Seminary and the Jesuits College. The list of those who were instructed in these institutions is a long one. About 1775, the Jesuits were obliged to discontinue their instruction, because the Government had taken possession of their estates, and converted their college into a barracks for the use of the soldiers. The Seminary was therefore compelled to provide a classical course for its pupils, since it was necessary to fill the vacancies occurring in the ranks of the clergy. The French Revolution was not without benefit to Canada. Forty four priests who had fled from France took up their abode in Quebec, at a time when there was a dearth of instructors. These men were zealous workers, renowned preachers, and they devoted themselves to



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

every good work which was open to them. Whether as chaplains of religious institutions, or as directors, or superiors of educational establishments, they nobly fulfilled their mission, and names like Raimbault, Desjardins, Calonne or Vilade, hold a high place in the religious history of Canada.

After the events of 1759-1760, the Canadians for a time found it difficult to provide a suitable course for the young men in order to fit them to take their place in professional life. Separated forever, from the mother house in Paris, the Seminary of Quebec was still able to supply its staff from among its own pupils. The last representative of the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères* had disappeared, and the vacancies were filled by Canadians, thus imparting a purely national character to the old institution of Monseigneur de Laval. Amongst the ecclesiastics who gave an impetus to superior education at this time, we may mention, M. Jérôme Demers, whose life is an epitome of fifty years of the history of the Seminary. Monseigneur Plessis was undoubtedly the greatest French Canadian of his time, and to M. Demers must be given the second place.

During the wars of the Empire it was always difficult, and frequently impossible, to obtain classical books, or instruments indispensable for the classes in Physics. It is true that there was a printing office in Canada at this time, but from the date of its establishment in 1764, until 1820, the only instruction books issued from its press were Bouthilliers' arithmetic, a



every good work which was open to them. They were as chaplains of religious institutions, as well as the superiors of educational establishments. They fulfilled their mission with success and honor. Desjardins, Chénier et Vézina, hold a high place in the religious history of Canada.

After the events of 1759-1760, the Canadians in a time found it difficult to provide a suitable education for the young men in order to fill the void left by the place in populated the Imperial War from the mother land in 1763, the Seminary of Quebec was still with its own staff from among its own pupils. The last representative of the Seminary, *Monseigneur* *Plamondon* had transferred his seat of residence to the city of Montreal, (The city of the future character in the old Montreal, *Monseigneur de Lamoignon*, although the Seminary gave an impetus to Quebec education system, as we may mention, St. Jerome Seminary which is still epitome of fifty years of the history of the Seminary. *Monseigneur Plamondon* was one of the greatest French Canadian scholars of the time and must be given the credit of



*Laval University.*





## ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT

geography compiled expressly for the use of the pupils of the Minor Seminary of Quebec, and a short catechism, a reprint of that in use in the diocese of Sens.

In Montreal a French grammar had been printed as an introduction to the Latin grammar in use, and a small geography and an arithmetic compiled by Bibaud. These were the only instruction books that could be purchased in the country.

To provide for the needs of the teachers as far as possible, M. Demers wrote several works suitable for the pupils of the Seminary and for the students of the colleges at St. Anne's and Nicolet, where they were sadly in need of books. His principal work was a treatise on philosophy in Latin. He further compiled manuals on physics, astronomy, and architecture. M. Demers had a taste for decorative art, and promoted the study of painting and sculpture amongst the French Canadians. Many of the earliest artists of Quebec were indebted to him for their success in a field hitherto unexplored in Canada. M. Demers also contributed most of the money towards the purchase of a valuable collection of paintings which was sent to Canada at a low price by the Abbé Desjardins, a former Chaplain of the Ursuline Convent. Under M. Demers the Seminary of Quebec extended its sphere of usefulness, and as a result of the impetus given to education thereby, the University of Laval was founded in 1852.

The establishment of the first printing press in Quebec in 1764, was an event of great importance. Although the Marquis de La Galissonnière had, in



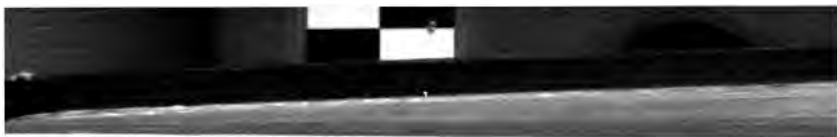
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

1749, expressed the desire to have a printing office in Canada, there does not appear to have been one, or at least one worthy of the name, before the foundation of the *Quebec Gazette* by William Brown.

There is no doubt that some printing was done in Canada previous to that date. In 1759 two *Mandements* were printed and distributed to the clergy of the Diocese, dated respectively May and October. As the former relates to the impending siege, and the latter to the battle which occurred on the 13th of September, it is evident that Monseigneur de Pontbriand could not have had them printed in France.

The first publication from Brown's press was a pamphlet of thirty-six pages in English and in French, concerning the duties of Grand Jurors. *The Catéchisme du diocèse de Sens*, was published several months afterwards. Of the former three hundred copies, and of the latter two thousand copies were printed.





## CHAPTER X

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1816-1838

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### TROUBLESOME TIMES

ADMINISTRATION OF SHERBROOKE — FAMINE  
THREATENED — LORD BATHURST — MONUMENT  
TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM — DALHOUSIE —  
PAPINEAU AND BEDARD — LORD GOSFORD —  
REBELLION — SHIP BUILDING — HONNEUR A  
MONTCALM.

**T**HE successor of Sir George Prevost was Sir John Coape Sherbrooke. He arrived in Quebec on the 12th of July, 1816. The new Governor inaugurated his administration by an act of generosity which gained for him the immediate sympathy and good will of the people of the Province. An early frost had destroyed the crops in the region below Quebec, in the autumn of 1816, and famine was threatened. The Governor therefore ordered a distribution of food to be made from the King's stores, and purchased large supplies for the people with his own means. Although he only occupied the office for two years, he was instrumental



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

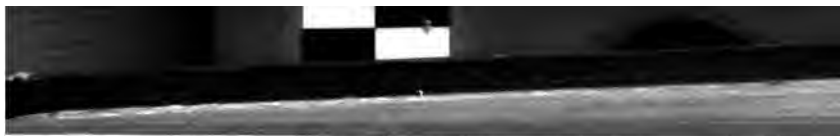
in securing several benefits for Canada. It was through his efforts that apostolic vicariates were established in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

Towards the close of the year 1816, Monseigneur Plessis received from Rome the Papal Bull constituting Quebec into an archiepiscopal See. Lord Bathurst, the Secretary for the Colonies, was strongly opposed to the decision of the Pope, and the Bishop was compelled to appeal to British justice. He prepared several memorials which were approved by Sir John Sherbrooke before they were submitted to Lord Bathurst, and finally opposition was withdrawn.

Sherbrooke's departure was deeply regretted by the Clergy, who had found in him a generous protector. Monseigneur Plessis retained friendly relations with the Governor after he had departed from our shores, and visited him in his home in England.

The Duke of Richmond replaced Sherbrooke ; but he died at Richmond, in the Eastern Townships, after having been in office for one year. He was buried in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Quebec. The Earl of Dalhousie, the tenth Governor of Canada, arrived in Quebec on the 9th of June, 1820. There was great activity in the city during his régime, for the elaborate works of defence, which were to convert Quebec into one of the most strongly fortified cities of the world, were commenced soon after his arrival, although they were not completed until after his departure.

Through the activity of the Earl of Dalhousie, and owing very largely to his generosity, Quebec



### TRoublesome Times

possesses her unique monument which perpetuates the memory of the victor and the vanquished—the monument to Wolfe and Montcalm. The members of the Committee appointed to carry out this noble project were named by the Governor :

The Honourable, The Chief Justice, Chairman.

Mr. Justice Taschereau.

Major General Darling.

Lieutenant Col. Cockburn, R. A.

Captain Young, 79th Highlanders.

Captain Melhuish, R. E.

Mr. George Pemberton.

The first stone of the monument was laid on the 15th of November, 1827, and it was completed in the following year. The Governor's name is preserved in Dalhousie Gate, which forms the entrance to the Citadel, and also in a street in the Lower Town. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which has done so much to add to our storehouse of knowledge, was founded in Lord Dalhousie's time. The Governor was not as favourably disposed towards the French population as some of his predecessors, although there is no doubt that he administered the affairs of the colony strictly in accordance with his ideas of justice.

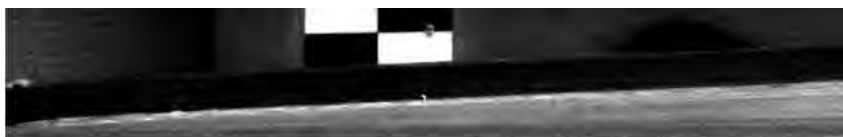
Matthew Wentworth, Baron Aylmer, assumed the duties of Governor in 1830, at a time when Quebec was on the eve of a crisis, which only the genius of a Dorchester could have averted. The Canadians had for a long time demanded a change in the constitution,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

which the Home authorities did not appear willing to grant. Fox had foreseen what was about to happen, when he made his speech in reference to the Constitutional Act of 1791 :

“ If we give every power to the Governor, the Councillors will not enjoy the respect which is necessary to establish their independence, and they will never be anything more than the instruments of the Governor, in the same manner as the Governors themselves are the instruments of the King.”

The reforms so often agitated had been ignored. After deliberating in the House upon this important question, it was resolved to appeal to the King to make the Council elective. An address was prepared and submitted to His Majesty, but no immediate action was taken. Papineau, one of the leading spirits amongst the French Canadians, then resolved to come to an understanding with the leading members of the House regarding the representations to be made to the Sovereign. After many discussions in the house of Elzéar Bédard on D'Auteuil Street, a number of resolutions were drawn up by A. N. Morin, the member for Bellechasse, which set forth the grievances of the people. After various alterations, ninety-two resolutions were submitted to the House and adopted. Morin was instructed to transmit the resolutions to D. B. Viger, the official agent of the French Canadians in London. The general elections took place in the autumn of 1834, and each candidate was called upon to declare whether or not he was in favour of making the Council elective.



### TROUBLESOME TIMES

Seventy-nine members favourable to the change were elected, while the opposition returned nine members. There were 480,000 votes cast in favour of an elective Council, and 32,000 against it.

The House opened on the 21st of February, 1835. For about a year previous to this date there had been a want of harmony between the members, which soon developed into a marked division in the ranks of the party. In the press, and on the hustings, these dissensions were manifest, and quarrels arose frequently over mere trifles. Many of the members gave only a lukewarm support to Papineau, whose zeal for the cause he had espoused led him to give utterance to expressions which exceeded the bounds of prudence and good taste. Papineau never missed an opportunity of attacking Lord Aylmer in the House, and he was particularly bitter against his Councillors. His followers remonstrated with him, but in vain ; until many of his strongest supporters fell away. The affairs of the Province, which were centered in Quebec, were growing worse, when Lord Gosford, more in the capacity of a Royal Commissioner, than of a Governor General, came to Canada. He was directed to investigate the complaints of the Canadians, and to report to England.

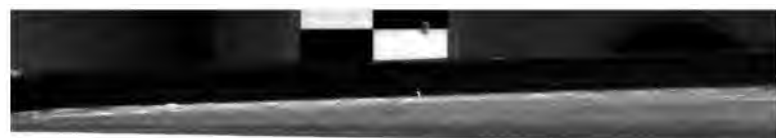
His presence in Quebec relieved for a moment the strain of the situation. He honestly endeavoured to appease the minds of the people, and pointed out to them the desirability of submitting unconditionally to Royal authority. On the feast of Ste. Catherine,



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Lord Gosford gave a magnificent ball at the Castle of St. Louis, hoping thereby to promote friendly relations between the people and the representatives of the Crown ; but since he was powerless to redress the grievances of the majority, his good offices were fruitless. The Legislative Council constantly threw out measures passed by the Assembly, and in retaliation the Assembly refused to vote the supplies for over six months, which caused great hardship.

Heated discussions became the order of the day. The questions of religion and language were drawn into the debates, and a spirit of excitement prevailed throughout the Province. The clergy of Quebec and other cities did their best to calm the troublesome times by urging patience and submission, but the inflammatory speeches of the agitators, and the attitude of a certain section of the press, fostered the spirit of rebellion. The real agitation which led to open violence, may be traced to a meeting held at St. Ours on the 7th of May, 1835. Resolutions were passed, some of which were clothed in very undignified language, and only injured the cause of their promoters. The *Canadien*, the organ of the French Canadians, protested against the methods adopted by the agitators, which incited the people to rebel. Demonstrations, and counter demonstrations, were held in various parts. In Quebec, an assembly of 8,000 people unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the action taken at St. Ours, but the crisis came when news was received that the Imperial Government had rejected



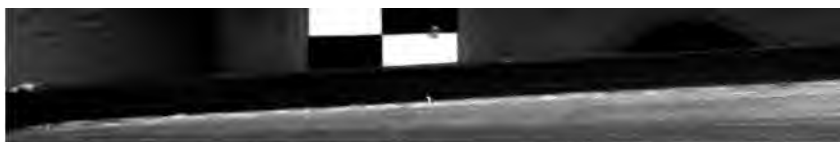


*Queen Victoria*









### TRoublesome Times

the ninety two resolutions. The details of these stormy days in Montreal which resulted in the death of Lieutenant Weir ; the issue of warrants for the arrest of Papineau, Morin, Nelson, O'Callaghan ; the defeat of the rebels at St. John's, St. Charles and St. Denis, and the proclamation of martial law, are matters which do not belong to the history of the city, only in so far as Quebec was the seat of the Government at the time.

The rebellion, incited by a few rash individuals, was a regrettable affair, but no people were more strongly opposed to its methods, or more deplored its immediate consequences, than the French-Canadians as a body.

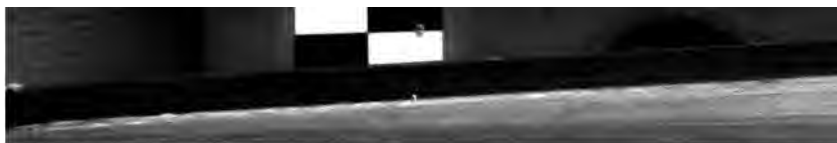
Attention was called by the uprising to the needs of the people. Abuses were corrected, and Quebec entered upon an era of peace which was sympathetically encouraged under the beneficent reign of Queen Victoria.

Under the French régime, notwithstanding the bonus of two hundred francs offered by the Minister of Marine for every vessel of two hundred tons burthen built in Quebec and sold in France, the trade did not prosper. Ships of more than two hundred tons burthen were not built in Quebec under French rule, owing to the mistaken idea that vessels of a greater tonnage could not ascend the river. It is a most remarkable fact that the French were in ignorance all these years of the depth of the channel, and yet it was their want of knowledge of the navigation of the St. Lawrence that facilitated the movements of the British in 1759,



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

which brought about the loss of the colony. When the British ships passed the Traverse in 1759, the French were greatly astonished, for the reliance which they placed upon the dangers of navigation had caused them to neglect to fortify the Island of Orleans and Pointe Lévis, and consequently Wolfe found no obstacle in establishing a camp opposite the city. In the month of April, 1759, Vaudreuil had written to the minister, "If the English attack Quebec, I shall always hold myself free to go thither myself with most of the troops and all the militia and Indians I can assemble. On arriving I shall give battle to the enemy, and I shall do so again and again, till I have forced him to retire, or till he has entirely crushed me by excessive superiority of numbers. *My obstinacy in opposing his landing will be the more à propos, as I have not the means of sustaining a siege.* . . . You see Monseigneur, that the slightest change in my arrangements would have the most unfortunate consequences." The English General was no doubt devoutly thankful that Quebec was favoured with such an accomodating Governor, for however sanguine he may have been of ultimate success, he scarcely could have imagined that he would be allowed to approach right up to the face of the enemy without any opposition being offered. When Vaudreuil returned to France a few months later, he professed to be very much pained on receiving a letter from the Colonial Minister containing these words "Though His Majesty was perfectly aware of the state of Canada, nevertheless, after the assurances you had given him



### TROUBLESOME TIMES

to make the utmost efforts to sustain the honour of his arms, he did not expect to hear so soon of the surrender of Montreal and the whole of the colony. But granting that capitulation was a necessity, His Majesty was not less surprised and ill pleased at the conditions, so little honourable to which you submitted, especially after the representations made you by the Chevalier de Lévis."

We see therefore, that the shipping industry had been retarded, and the approach of the enemy facilitated by the incompetency of the Governor.

In 1787, vessels of every dimension, from the humble schooner, to large ships of 1,500 to 1,800 tons, were built at Quebec. In 1823, at *Anse du Fort*, on the Island of Orleans, the *Columbus*, of 3,690 tons was built, and in the following year the *Baron de Renfrew*, of 5,294 tons, was launched from the same place. Both of these vessels were unfortunately lost at sea. The *Baron de Renfrew* was the largest vessel built in Quebec. During a period of one hundred years, from 1797 to 1897, 2642 sailing vessels were built on the banks of the St. Charles and in the vicinity of Quebec. This industry gave employment to thousands of families, but its disappearance does not seem to have impoverished the labouring classes, who have found a means of living in other branches of trade.

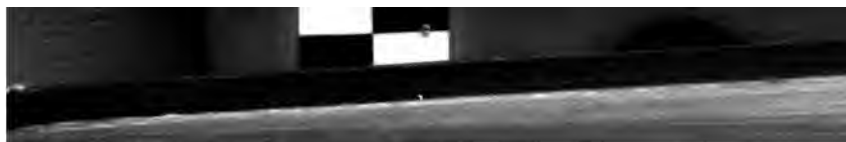
It was under Lord Aylmer that the first monument was erected to mark the spot where General Wolfe died. His lordship also gave to the Ursuline



#### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Convent the simple marble tablet in memory of Montcalm, bearing this inscription : "*Honneur à Montcalm ! le destin en lui dérobant la victoire l'a récompensé par une mort glorieuse.*"





## CHAPTER XI

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1838-1867

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### AFTER THE STORM

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT — LORD DURHAM — HIS  
OPINION OF THE PEOPLE — LORD GOSFORD'S  
SPEECH — THE UNION OF THE CANADAS —  
IMPERIAL TROOPS — SIR JOHN COLBORNE — LORD  
ELGIN — THE SOCIETY OF SAINT JEAN BAPTISTE  
— CONFEDERATION.

THE unfortunate affairs of 1837 had aroused the Imperial authorities to take decisive steps concerning the government of Canada. Lord Durham received a commission as Governor and High Commissioner, to inquire into the causes of the late rebellion, and to apply a remedy. The task imposed upon the Governor was an exceedingly difficult one, and it is not surprising to find that the course he adopted met with severe criticism. Lord Durham arrived in Quebec on the 29th of May, 1838, and immediately after taking the oath, he issued a proclamation suspending the

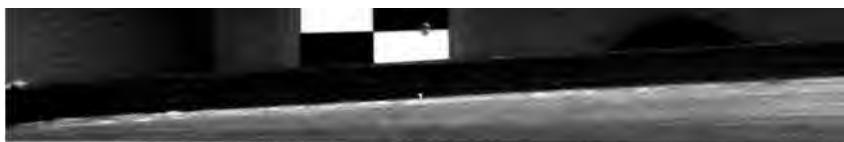


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constitution ; and for the meantime the supreme power was vested in the Governor.

His Lordship, in the space of a few months, gathered information from every quarter of the Dominion regarding the situation, and embodied this information in a report which was published in London in the following year. The report gives a clear exposition of the case, and upon the whole it is an exceedingly just one. The extract, which we quote, gives the Governor's idea of the basis of the disagreement between the two races.

“ The grounds of the quarrel which are commonly  
“ alleged, appear, on investigation, to have little to do  
“ with its real cause ; and the inquirer, who has  
“ imagined that the public demonstrations or profes-  
“ sions of the parties have put him in possession of  
“ their real motives and designs, is surprised to find,  
“ upon nearer observation, how much he has been  
“ deceived by the false colours under which they have  
“ been in the habit of fighting. It is not, indeed, in  
“ this instance surprising, that each party should have  
“ practised more than the usual frauds of language,  
“ by which factions, in every country, seek to secure  
“ the sympathy of other communities..... The  
“ French-Canadians have attempted to shroud their  
“ hostility to the influence of English emigration, and  
“ the introduction of British institutions, under the  
“ guise of warfare against the government and its  
“ supporters, whom they represented to be a small  
“ knot of corrupt and insolent dependents ; being a  
“ majority, they have evoked the principles of popular  
“ control and democracy, and appealed with no little  
“ effect to the sympathy of liberal politicians in every  
“ quarter of the world.



### AFTER THE STORM

“ The English finding their opponents in collision  
“ with the Government, have raised the cry of loyalty  
“ and attachment to British connection, and denounced  
“ the republican designs of the French..... The  
“ English complained of the Assembly’s refusal to  
“ establish Registry Offices, and to commute the feudal  
“ tenures ; and yet it was amongst the ablest and  
“ most influential leaders of the English that I found  
“ some of the opponents to both proposed reforms.  
“ The leaders of the French were anxious to disclaim  
“ any hostility to these reforms themselves.....  
“ There is every reason to believe that a great number  
“ of the peasants who fought at St. Denis and St.  
“ Charles, imagined that the principal result of success  
“ would be the overthrow of tithes and feudal bur-  
“ thens ; and in the declaration of independence which  
“ Dr. Robert Nelson issued, two of the objects of the  
“ insurrection were stated to be the abolition of the  
“ feudal tenures and the establishment of Registry  
“ Offices. When I observe these inconsistencies of  
“ conduct among the opponents and supporters of  
“ these reforms ; when I consider that their attainment  
“ was prevented by means of the *cessitaires*, the very  
“ persons most interested in their success, and that they  
“ were not more eagerly demanded by the wealthier  
“ of the English, than by the artisans and labourers  
“ of that race whose individual interests would hardly  
“ have derived much direct benefit from their success,  
“ I cannot but think that many both of the opponents  
“ and of the supporters, cared less for the measures  
“ themselves, than for the handle which the agitation  
“ of them gave to their national hostility ; that the  
“ Assembly resisted these changes chiefly because the  
“ English desired them ; and that the eagerness with  
“ which many of the English urged them was stimulated  
“ by finding them opposed by the French.”



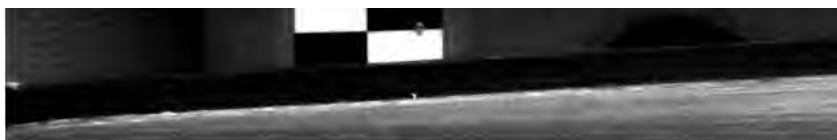
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Lord Durham accurately describes the situation at that time ; but we must remember that the people had just emerged from a crisis which nothing but bloodshed could satisfy, and that each race in the course of time deplored the events of those unfortunate days.

The action of the majority of the insurgents was condoned ; but eight men were banished to Bermuda. The troubles, however, were not at an end. On the eve of Lord Durham's departure for England, November the 3rd, 1838, there was evidence of a further uprising, which led to serious results, and finally, eighty persons from Upper Canada, and fifty eight from Lower Canada were sent to New South Wales. The latter departed from Quebec on the 28th of September, 1839, and did not return to the city until the 18th of January, 1845, after five years and a half of banishment.

Towards the close of his Report he remarked :

“ I admit that the system which I propose would  
“ in fact, place the internal government of this colony  
“ in the hands of the colonists themselves ; and that  
“ we should thus leave to them the execution of the  
“ laws, of which we have long entrusted the making  
“ solely to them. Perfectly aware of the value of our  
“ colonial possessions, and strongly impressed with  
“ the necessity of maintaining them, I know not in  
“ what respect it can be desirable that we should  
“ interfere with their internal legislation in matters  
“ which do not affect their relations with the mother  
“ country.”



### AFTER THE STORM

Lord Durham proposed as a means of avoiding the difficulties between the two races, to unite the Province of Quebec to Upper Canada. The report caused wide discussion, and brought out the talents of many men who were afterwards distinguished in the political life of the country,

The Act of Union was adopted by the Imperial Parliament after a long discussion. There were two members in the House of Commons who strongly opposed the measure, and Lord Gosford, a former Governor, advocated the cause of the French Canadians in the House of Lords. The extract which we give here is from Lord Gosford's speech on the occasion of the discussion in the Upper House, and it shows how warmly he supported the views of the people of the lower Province :

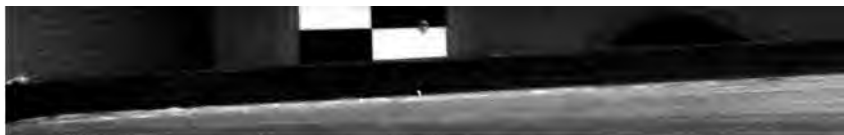
“ Convinced as I am of the exact verity of all that I have advanced, I cannot but regard the meditated union of the Canadas as a most unjust and tyrannical measure, proposed in view of depriving the lower Province of its Constitution, under the pretext, as a sufficing cause, that a handful of ill-intentioned men committed culpable acts ; the sure effect of the project being, to deliver into the hands of a section of the community, the great majority of their fellow colonists, the former being bitterly inimical to the latter. You propose to give, in a word, to three or four hundred thousand inhabitants, the same amount of parliamentary representation, to a population of French descent of at least 700,000 souls abiding in Lower Canada ; and concurrently with this unequal distribution of franchise rights, you are about to impose on the same



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Province, which has no public debt, or something next to none, payment of the interest of the pecuniary obligations of the Upper Canadians, the capital of which, is is said, reaches one million. Can there be anything imagined more arbitrary or less reasonable than this? In truth, the mere legality of such a proceeding, setting all consideration of equitable dealing aside, may be very fairly called in question ; for, I understand, no part of the debt contracted in Upper Canada has been sanctioned by the Government of this country, I ought to declare once again my conviction that the unjust financial arrangement I now denounce, is due to a mercantile intrigue. As I have already remarked, the French-derived population of the lower Province wishes to live under British protection, and in alliance with us ; yet a great majority of the inhabitants of the two Canadas is opposed to an union.... I can never give my assent, therefore, to the unjust measure, as I conscientiously believe this to be, now submitted for the consideration of your lordships. I repeat, too, that I have called your attention to the real facts of the case ; and in all I have said, I am sure I shall be confirmed by the testimony of every impartial resident in either province of Canada."

The Act was sanctioned by the Queen on the 23rd of July, 1840, and it gave to Canada a Legislative Council, the members of which were appointed for life. The Legislative Assembly was composed of eighty-four members, forty-two from Upper Canada, and the same number from Lower Canada. The French Canadians were dissatisfied with the divisions of the counties under the act, and there claims were strongly advocated by three remarkable men, LaFontaine,



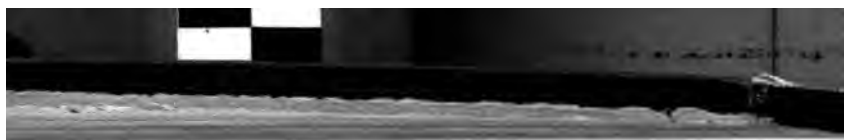
### AFTER THE STORM

Morin, and Cartier. Papineau, it is true, still continued to exert his energies, but he had lost much of his influence since the stormy times of 1837, when he controlled the people at his will.

After the Union of the two Canadas was effected, and its government was in working order, LaFontaine realized that responsible government, as advocated by Lord Durham, might prove the safeguard, instead of the ruin of the province, if properly applied.

Bound to Robert Baldwin by ties of friendship, LaFontaine came to an understanding with him, which resulted in the formation of the Baldwin-LaFontaine ministry. Under this administration the affairs of the Province appeared to be progressing satisfactorily, but unfortunately a difference arose between the Governor and his Ministers, which compelled them to resign. We have gone briefly into the political history of the time, because without so doing it would be impossible to understand the differences which existed at Quebec, the political centre of the Province, but we must now return to the history of the city proper.

We have seen that in the year 1823, Great Britain determined to make Quebec one of the most strongly fortified cities of the world, and from that date Quebec assumed the aspect of an important military centre. In the year 1838 the remainder of the Coldstream Guards marched into the Citadel Barracks, to form the escort for the newly appointed Governor. On the 27th of May Lord Durham and his staff arrived in Quebec. An immense gathering of citizens awaited

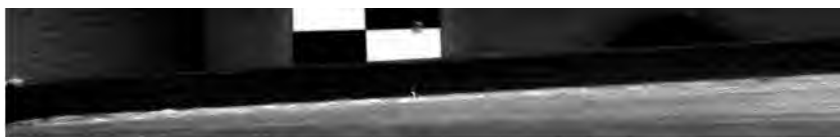


### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

his landing, but on account of the weather, the ceremony intended was postponed for two days. Lord Durham, writing from the Castle of St. Louis, 31 May, 1838, says, "I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived here on the 27th. The weather being very unfavourable, I could not land until the 29th, on which day I proceeded to the council and took the prescribed oaths which were duly administered to me in the presence of Sir John Colborne. The streets through which I passed were extremely crowded, and I could not but be highly gratified with the cordial greeting which I received, and with the more than friendly feelings which seemed to animate the assembled multitude."

As the old Chateau was not sufficiently spacious to receive the household of the Governor, apartments were prepared for the Viceregal party in the Parliament Buildings. The receptions given during the residence of the Governor were very brilliant, and his generosity became proverbial. In more tranquil times, no doubt he would have enjoyed a popularity quite equal to that of any of the illustrious representatives of the Crown in Canada. Lord Durham would not accept any remuneration for his services in Canada, but he desired that the money should be applied to the repairs which were necessary at the Chateau. The ruins of the old Chateau were levelled and converted into a promenade at this time, which was given the name of Durham Terrace.

Sir John Colborne assumed the reins of Govern-



### AFTER THE STORM

ment in December, 1838, but he only remained in office nine months. These were difficult times, and a Governor who was a stranger to the country could not be expected to immediately grasp the situation, or to apply a remedy that in an instant would satisfactorily dispose of grievances which had been nursed for many years. The Governor adopted a policy which was considered extremely harsh, and it was not received with favour, either here, or in England. C. E. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, entered upon the duties of Governor in October, 1839, and remained in office until his death, in 1841. He was the first to introduce responsible government, but the exact nature of this form of government was not very well understood, and there was constant disagreement. The outbreak, in 1837, had called the attention of the authorities to the want of volunteer corps, and, in the year 1839, the several regiments in Quebec were well organized.

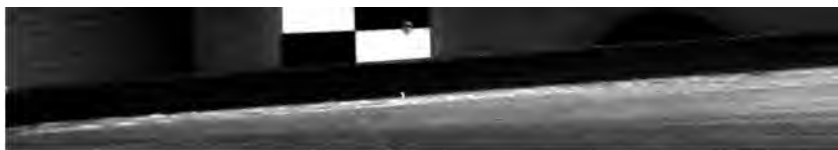
Sir Charles Bagot succeeded Lord Sydenham in 1842, but a year later he was obliged to retire on account of ill health. Short as his career was, he had commenced to act as an intermediary between the two factions. Lord Metcalfe succeeded Bagot and occupied the office from 1843 to 1845. The latter year was long remembered on account of the disastrous fire which consumed the whole of the suburbs of St. Rochs. One month later, St. John's suburb, near the Upper Town, was destroyed by fire, the loss to the people being estimated at over \$3,000,000. England and the



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

United States generously responded to the call for help, and soon a fund of \$500,000 was placed at the disposal of the committee, and much of the town was rebuilt in a more substantial manner. Quebec was to pass through another ordeal of fire. In the month of June, 1846, a fire was discovered in a theatre near Durham Terrace, and over forty persons lost their lives thereby. Lord Metcalfe when leaving Quebec gave the sum of \$2,000 towards the sufferers from the Quebec fires. Lord Cathcart was the next Governor. Under his régime the Militia Act was passed which gave great satisfaction to the majority. Lord Elgin, who succeeded Cathcart in 1847, was one of the most popular governors of Canada. He had already a good reputation as an able administrator, and was familiar with the administrative machinery necessary for the government of a colony. In reply to an address which was presented to him in the city of Montreal, he said :

“ You are pleased to observe, that the knowledge  
“ of public affairs acquired by me in the Imperial  
“ Parliament, and in other situations of high trust,  
“ justifies the hope that I shall be guided in the  
“ exercise of my functions by the great Constitutional  
“ principles familiar to the British statesman. It will  
“ be my study and anxious endeavour to verify these  
“ favourable expectations. The powers of self-govern-  
“ ment, to which your constitution allows such free  
“ scope, are given for wise purposes, to enable the  
“ people to exercise a salutary influence on the action  
“ of government and to render government itself a  
“ more powerful instrument for good, by securing  
“ for it confidence and support : if ever these supports



### AFTER THE STORM

“ should unhappily, be perverted to objects of faction  
“ or personal ambition, the best efforts of a Governor  
“ General to promote the welfare of the province must  
“ be unavailing and his high and honourable office can  
“ become, under such circumstances, only a source of  
“ bitter regret and disappointment.”

The session of 1847 was a stormy one. Baldwin was very severe against the Government, and La Fontaine was very bitter against its French Canadian supporters. “ You have been merely tools in the hands of your colleagues,” he said : “ one of your members has been expelled from the Council, and the other will soon be.” Viger and Papineau were the members referred to. Lord Elgin determined to bring matters to a crisis, and he dissolved the Parliament. The elections were held, and the Government was defeated. Baldwin and La Fontaine were called upon to form a new ministry, in which four French Canadians were given portfolios. This new Government for a time promoted harmony in the province, and particularly satisfied the people of Quebec.

Lord Elgin was animated by a desire to give full scope to the wishes of the people for self government, and it is worthy of note that the Governor when he called La Fontaine to the head of affairs, did not, as his predecessors had done, select his advisers, but left this to the Prime Minister. During Lord Elgin's administration the seignorial tenure was abolished, decimal currency was adopted, and many reforms were carried out in the different departments of the public service.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

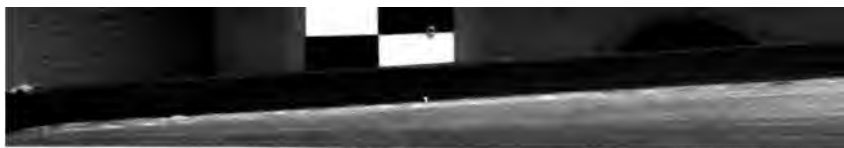
Sir Edmund Head, succeeded Lord Elgin.

On the 5th of June, 1854, there was a very impressive ceremony in Quebec, which for a moment recalled the struggle between Murray and Lévis, when the fate of Quebec again trembled in the balance, and seemed almost within the grasp of the victorious French General.

From time to time the share of the ploughman, or the spade of the workman had turned up the grim remains of those gallant sons of France and of England who fell at the battle of Ste. Foy while maintaining the honour of their respective countries. The Society of Saint Jean Baptiste, with sentiments of deep respect for the heroic dead gathered the scattered remains, and caused them to be interred in a common grave, which was afterwards marked by a column to perpetuate the French victory of April 28th, 1760.

The remains were conveyed to the Basilica, where a requiem mass was sung, and then the procession returned to the spot where the interment was made.

Three years later, in 1859, Quebec was thrown into mourning by the awful fate which overtook 200 emigrants who had left their native land to find a home in Canada. At four o'clock on the 26th of June, the steamer "Montreal" left her wharf intending to proceed to the city of Montreal, with about four hundred passengers on board. Everything went well until Cape Rouge was passed, when it was discovered that the vessel was on fire. In the excitement which followed, the panic-stricken passengers jumped into the river,



#### AFTER THE STORM

and notwithstanding the short distance from the shore, over two hundred of them were drowned.

In order to show the progress made by the people of Quebec, it is again necessary to refer briefly to the political history of the Province. At this time, the man most prominently before the public in Quebec, was Augustin Norbert Morin, whose political career dates from 1830. He represented the County of Bellechasse until the Union, and was returned for various counties until 1854, when he was elected for Chicoutimi. In the latter year he formed an alliance with Sir Allan McNab, with whose views he was in sympathy. The Liberal-Conservative party, which was composed of moderate Liberals from Lower Canada, and moderate Conservatives from Upper Canada, dates from 1854. Morin had a chequered career. At an early age we find him engaged in literary work, and the founder of *La Minerve*, which for a long time held a prominent place. A few years later, his efforts in the cause of Reform brought him under suspicion, and he was obliged to seek shelter in the woods. Five years after he was appointed to the Bench, and during the next year he resigned to accept a portfolio in the Baldwin-La Fontaine Ministry, and, in 1867, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court. During his long and eventful life, Morin's energies were directed towards building up the Canadian nationality, and by his death Quebec lost one of her most zealous advocates.

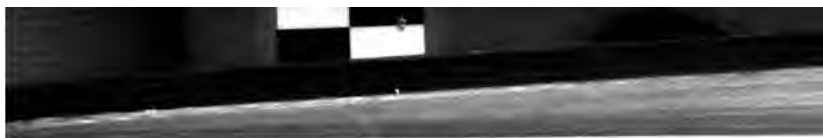
Another remarkable character was Sir George Etienne Cartier. He was a patriot, and for his share



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

in the affair at St. Benoit he had to leave the country. Upon his return to Canada he became a follower of La Fontaine, and upon four occasions was returned for Verchères. Cartier's career covers the period from 1848 to 1872. His opponents, as well as his friends, recognized his many sterling qualities, and his noble patriotism. To him the Province of Quebec is indebted for much real progress. In 1857, Cartier was invited to form a cabinet with Sir John A. Macdonald, in succession to Dr. Taché, whose health had given way under the strain of constant application to the duties of public life. A few years after, however, Taché was able to return to active politics, and he played a brilliant part in the history of the country. Cartier's great work was in connection with the Act of Confederation.

A change of such importance as Confederation was naturally the subject of lengthy negotiations. In the month of October, 1864, a conference was held in the Parliament buildings on Mountain Hill. Amongst the thirty-three delegates assembled on that occasion, we believe that the only one living to-day in Quebec, is Sir Hector Langevin, K.C.M.G.; C.B. "They were all men " of large experience in the work of administration " or legislation in their respective provinces " writes Bourinot. " Not a few of them were noted lawyers " who had thoroughly studied the systems of Govern- " ment in other countries. Some were gifted with rare " power and eloquence. At no time before, or since " has Quebec been visited by an assemblage of notables " with so many high qualifications for the foundation



#### AFTER THE STORM

“ of a nation. The chairman was Sir Etienne Pascal Taché, who had proved in his youth his fidelity to England on the famous battlefield of Chateauguay, and had won the respect of all classes and parties by the display of many admirable qualities, and he it was who gave utterance to the oft-quoted words : That the last gun that would be fired for British supremacy in America would be fired by a French Canadian.”

This session lasted for 16 days, and notwithstanding that representatives of the Press from the United States and England were present in the city, the deliberations were kept secret. In the resolutions framed at Quebec were embodied the principles on which the Canadian Federation rests : “ A federation, with a central government having jurisdiction over matters of interest to the whole country comprised in the Union and a number of provincial governments having the control and management of certain local matters naturally and conveniently belonging to them, each government being administered in accordance with the well understood principles of the British system of parliamentary institutions.”

In the course of time it was found that the basis of dividing the revenues of the country was not equitable and that the Province did not receive a just share. In the year 1887, the Prime Minister of Quebec convened an Interprovincial conference which met in Quebec from the 20th to the 28th of October, when

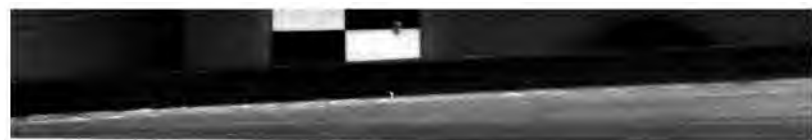


### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

various matters affecting the autonomy of the Province were discussed and resolutions were passed. This conference was presided over by the late Sir Oliver Mowat, the secretaries being Mr. Evanturel and Mr. Gustave Grenier.

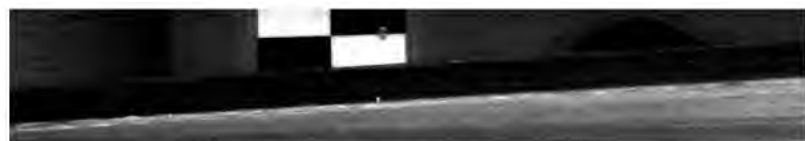
In 1902, another Interprovincial conference was convened by the Hon. S. N. Parent, when many subjects of vital interest to the Province were again considered.







*Sir Louis A. Jetté, K.C.M.G.*  
*—Past Governor of the Province of Quebec*



**FURS IN QUEENSLAND — ECONOMICS — FURTHER**

The year 1967 marks an event in our history. On July 16, 1967, a Royal Commission was created, and on July 20, 1967, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women was established. The Commission was created to study the status of women in Canada and to make recommendations to the government on how to improve it. The Commission was created to study the status of women in Canada and to make recommendations to the government on how to improve it.

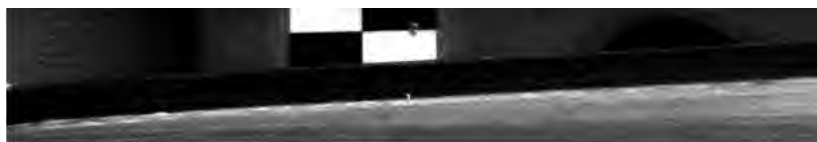
In the year 1792, the British Confederation, it was proposed to give the name of Kingdom of Canada to the four great Provinces; which together comprised an area greater than the whole of Europe.

Under this act each Province was granted a form of local government. Quebec was chosen as the capital of the French Canadian Province.



Mr. John W. Miller, A. C. W. C.  
1000 Union St. St. Louis, Mo.





## CHAPTER XII

1867-1903

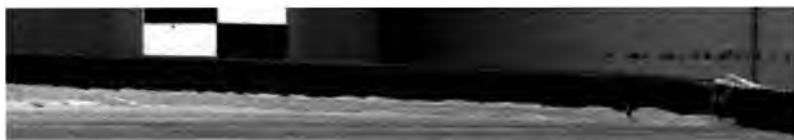
### MODERN QUEBEC

CONFEDERATION — THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS —  
SPENCER WOOD — PRIME MINISTERS OF QUEBEC —  
FELIX GABRIEL MARCHAND — ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE HON. S. N. PARENT — LORD DUFFERIN —  
FIRES IN QUEBEC — EPIDEMICS — FESTIVITIES —  
ROYAL VISITORS

**T**HE year 1867 marks an epoch in our history. On the 22nd of May, a Royal Proclamation was issued, setting forth that "on and after the first day of July, 1867, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall form, and be one Dominion, under the name of Canada."

In the draft of the Act of Confederation, it was proposed to give the name of the "Kingdom of Canada" to the four great Provinces; which together comprise an area greater than the whole of Europe.

Under this act each Province was granted a form of local government. Quebec was chosen as the capital of the French Canadian Province.



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

his own dwelling in St. Louis street, and only occasionally visited Spencer Wood.

Lieutenant Governor Caron died during his term of office and his body was exposed in the drawing room, the scene of so many brilliant entertainments. His funeral took place on the 18th of December 1876 and was attended by all the members of both Houses then in session.

On the occasion of the visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York as the guests of Sir Louis and Lady Jetté, in 1901, the old portico was replaced by a more modern structure. The building and the grounds are particularly suitable for an official residence for the representative of the Province.

From the year 1867 until the present year, 1903, there have been fourteen Ministries :

1. The Chauveau, Ministry.....1867-1873
2. Ouimet " ....1873-1874
3. De Boucherville " ....1874-1878
4. Joly " ....1878-1879
5. Chapleau " ....1879-1882
6. Mousseau " ....1882-1884
7. Ross " ....1884-1887
8. Taillon " ....1887-1887
9. Mercier " ....1887-1891
10. De Boucherville " ....1891-1892
11. Taillon " ....1892-1896
12. Flynn " ....1896-1897
13. Marchand " ....1897-1900
14. Parent " ....1900-1903

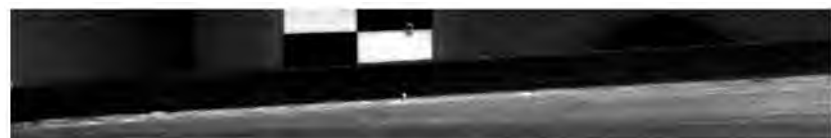


Fig. 20

# GREEN ROCK TWO BLADE

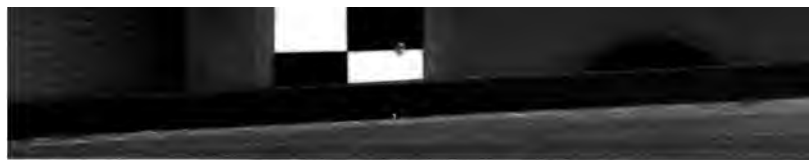
His own dwelling in 81, Louis street, and only nominally visited Spenser Wood.

Lieutenant Governor Carey died during his term of office and his body was exposed in the drawing room, the state of his many brilliant accomplishments. His illustrious place in the history of the state and was shared by all the members of the family then in power.

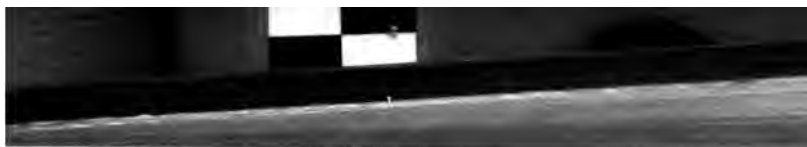
The following table shows the dates of the various periods of the life of the family and the years of the various periods of the life of the family and the years of the various periods of the life of the family.

	1874-1879
July	1878-1879
Chapin	1879-1883
...	1883-1884
...	1884-1885
...	1885-1886
...	1886-1887

*City Hall.*







## MODERN QUEBEC

The first Ministry under the Hon. Mr. Taillon was in power for four days only.

Many distinguished men since the Hon. Mr. Chauveau have been prominently before the public for many years, but it is doubtful whether there has been any more truly interesting figure in the political history of Quebec since Confederation, amongst those who have passed away, than that of the late Honourable Felix Gabriel Marchand, the Premier of Quebec, who died on the 25th of September, 1900, and of whom we have given a short note in the second part of this work.

We have briefly referred to the administration of the Province because Quebec is the seat of Government. We will now give a sketch of the work of the City Council.

Under the French régime the municipal affairs of Quebec were for a time entrusted to syndics, but after a fair trial the old system was found to be preferable, and it was revived. Under British rule the same custom was observed until progress had made a change imperative. The population had increased ; the institutions were growing more important ; there were a greater number of ships sailing into port ; and the development of commerce required more effective administrative machinery.

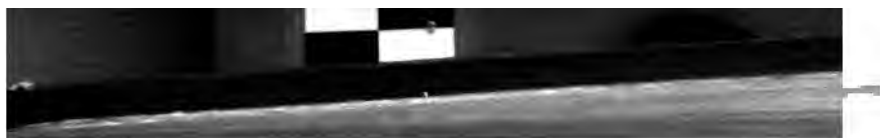
It was not until the year 1818, that the citizens sought to obtain from the Legislature an elective corporation, with clearly defined powers ; but the relief asked for was not at this time granted. A fresh attempt to secure the incorporation of the city was made in



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

1821, but without success. In 1827, a meeting was held in the Court House, presided over by Vallières de St-Réal. A committee of eleven persons was chosen to draft a Bill for the incorporation of the city. This measure was submitted to the Legislature in 1831, and reserved for the significance of His Majesty's pleasure, which was given to it in 1833. Under this Act the city was divided into ten wards :—St. Louis, St. John, The Seminary, The Palace, St. Lawrence, St. Charles, St. Roch's, Dorchester, Ste. Geneviève and des Carrières.

The Council was composed of twenty members, with power to elect a mayor annually, with a salary not exceeding one hundred pounds. The first municipal election was held on the 25th of April, 1833, and the councillors assembled on the 1st of May to elect a mayor, the choice falling on Elzéar Bédard. In the following year Bédard was defeated by two votes, and Edward René Caron was declared duly elected. Those who withdrew their support from Bédard, declared that it would create a bad precedent to elect a mayor for more than one term, but it would appear that the excuse offered was only a pretext, as Caron was returned eleven times without intermission. Caron proved an excellent mayor, and his repeated election proved that there was no danger in the precedent. There have been twenty-six mayors of Quebec since 1833, and six only have held office for a single term. These were Messrs. Bédard, Tessier, Alleyn, Robitaille, Lemesurier, and Hossack. The Honourable Mr. Langevin



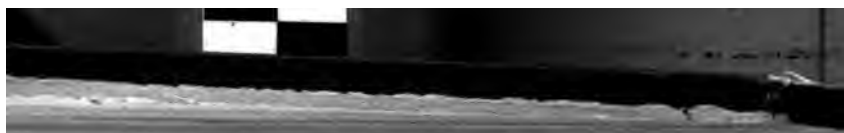
## MODERN QUEBEC

served four terms, and the Hon. Mr. Parent has already been elected four times in succession.

The following is a chronological list of the mayors of Quebec :

Elzéar Bédard, . . . . .	1833-1834,	elected by the Council.
R. E. Caron, . . . . .	1834-1845,	" "
G. O. Stuart, . . . . .	1846-1849,	" "
N. F. Belleau, . . . . .	1850-1852,	" "
U. J. Tessier, . . . . .	1853	" "
C. Alleyn, . . . . .	1854	" "
Jos. Morrin, . . . . .	1855	" "
Dr. O. Robitaille, . . . . .	1856	" "
H. L. Langevin, . . . . .	1858-1860,	" the People.
T. Pope, . . . . .	1861-1863,	" "
A. Tourangeau, . . . . .	1864-1865,	" "
Jos. Cauchon, . . . . .	1866-1867,	" "
J. Lemesurier, . . . . .	1868-1869,	" "
W. Hossack, . . . . .	1869-1870,	" the Council.
A. G. Tourangeau, . . . . .	1870	" the People.
P. Garneau, . . . . .	1870-1873,	" the Council.
O. Murphy, . . . . .	1874-1877,	" "
R. Chambers, . . . . .	1878-1879,	" "
D. Brousseau, . . . . .	1880-1881,	" "
F. Langelier, . . . . .	1882-1890,	" "
Jos. Frémont, . . . . .	1890-1894,	" "
S. N. Parent, . . . . .	1894-1903,	" "

For particulars concerning the administration of civic affairs in the past, we cannot do better than to quote from a speech made by the Hon. S. N. Parent, the present mayor :



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

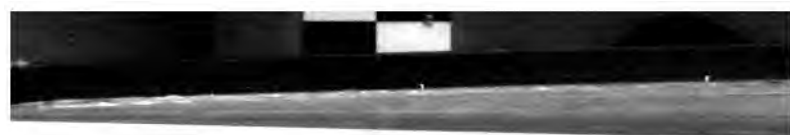
" At the commencement let us greet the first titular mayor of Quebec, Bédard, elected in 1833. He was a great patriot and the staunch defender of our rights. At the risk of being dismissed from the bench he gave to the prisoners of 1837, the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act, and afterwards had the satisfaction of having his decision confirmed in England ; when he resumed his seat on the bench amidst the acclamation of the people.

" The next in order is Caron, who remained at the head of civic affairs for twelve years, and by his tact, urbanity and conciliatory spirit, secured and retained popular favour for over half century, and died at Spencer Wood full of honours, and occupying the highest public office in the Province.

" Then came Sir N. F. Belleau, under whom the waterworks were constructed and the first efforts were made towards building the North Shore Railway and a bridge over the St. Lawrence.

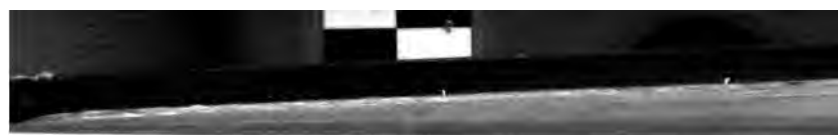
" Then follows the brilliant and laborious administration of the Hon. Ulric Tessier, afterwards a minister, a senator, and a judge of the Court of Appeals ; of Dr Robitaille, one of the chief organizers of our national festivals at that period ; of Messrs. Tourangeau and Lemesurier who knew how to win the popular vote ; of Hon. Jos. Cauchon who came into the municipal arena, with all the impetuosity of his bellicose temperament ; of Sir Hector Langevin who, after making his mark as an able administrator of our civic affairs, entered upon a wider field of duty and filled important offices as minister at Ottawa for many years.

" Amidst all these French figures and as evidence of the cordial good feeling that unites all races and religious creeds in Quebec, I am happy to mention some English and Irish mayors : Okill Stuart, who was afterwards judge of the Admiralty ; Alleyn, a





*The Hon. L. N. Parent, K.C., D.C.L.  
Mayor of Quebec*



## THE BEACH

THE BEACH is a small, sandy area, about 100 feet long and 50 feet wide, situated on the left side of the road. It is bordered by a low, dark, and somewhat irregular wall or fence. The beach is mostly empty, with a few small, dark, and indistinct objects scattered across its surface. The background is a dark, hilly landscape under a dark sky.

## THE ROAD

THE ROAD is a narrow, unpaved path that runs along the right side of the beach. It is made of dark, loose soil or sand, and is bordered by a low, dark, and somewhat irregular wall or fence. The road is mostly empty, with a few small, dark, and indistinct objects scattered across its surface. The background is a dark, hilly landscape under a dark sky.

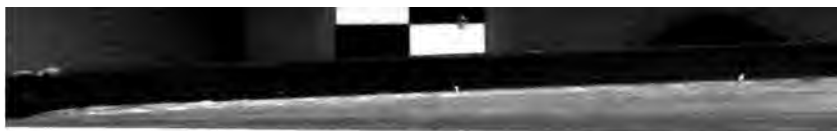
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## MODERN QUEBEC

distinguished man who played an important part in the great debates on Confederation and afterwards became a member of the Privy Council of Canada and sheriff of Quebec ; Morrin who endowed the city with Morrin College ; Thomas Pope, the type of the affable gentleman of the old school ; Wm. Hossack who passed like a meteor through our civic annals ; Robert Chambers whose kind and peaceful nature received a rough shock in the difficult times through which he passed ; Owen Murphy who so brilliantly did the honours of our good city of Quebec.

" I cheerfully do homage to the administration of Mr. Brousseau and to that of Mr. Frémont, who organized our public health department on a modern basis. Now I reserve special mention for the works of Hon. P. Garneau and Hon. François Langelier, which constitute an era in our civic annals. Hon. P. Garneau, as Mayor of Quebec, was what he has been for thirty years and what I hope he will continue to be for many years, foremost in the ranks of workers. Truly, it is an admirable spectacle for us to see that man, though old in years, as energetic as any young man, ever ardent and giving us an example worthy of imitation by his unswerving faith in the future of Quebec.

" To Hon. F. Langelier belongs the honour of having inaugurated the era of great improvements in our city. It may be said that during the eight years of his administration, the citizens had a foretaste of the improvements that have transformed Quebec and made it a modern city, while respecting the historical character that forms a halo around it which no wanton hand will ever try to remove."

Quebec has, indeed, undergone many changes since the establishment of the first municipal Council



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

in 1833. Each occupant of the civic chair appears to have laboured in the interest of the city, but the improvements most apparent are those which has been effected under the administration of the present mayor.

Year by year the work of beautifying the city has gone on under the régime of the Hon. Mr. Parent. The unsightly waste places have been converted into picturesque spots ; our rough and almost impassable streets have been well paved, and are well kept. On every side there is the evidence of constant watchfulness on the part of the civic authorities which is particularly noticed by the numerous visitors to our city.

The city corporation seal represents a female figure in a sitting position, leaning upon a shield, on which is a lion passant, holding a key. Above is a *Cornucopia*, and on the side a bee-hive. At the feet of the figure is seen a beaver. The figure points to the river, where there is a ship at anchor. In the back ground is a representation of Cape Diamond. The following are the legends on the seal : above, *Natura fortis, industria crescit*; below, *Condita Quebecense, A.D. MDCVIII Civitatis Regimine Donata, A.D. MDCCC-XXXIII.*

In addition to the works carried out by the civic authorities, we must not omit the services rendered to Quebec by Lord Dufferin. The increase in traffic had rendered necessary the demolition of the old gates, and it appeared at one time that the city would lose many of its most attractive features. Lord Dufferin, however, interfered and proposed not only to meet all the



### MODERN QUEBEC

requirements of progress but to give to Quebec a more attractive interest. The scheme proposed under the direction of the Earl included an official residence for the Governors, new gates and extended walls, ornamental grounds and iron bridges. The cost of these improvements would have involved an outlay of nearly one hundred thousand dollars, and therefore the plans were greatly modified. However, as a result, we have at least preserved the walls and have the St. Louis and Kent Gates, and the magnificent Terrace.

Nearly all the mayors of Quebec have been called upon to represent the city at great public receptions, such as the visits of members of the Royal Family, or the representatives of the sovereign on their arrival in the country. Others have had less pleasing tasks to fulfill, and their energies have been devoted to the relief of the distressed on the occasion of epidemics, and fires which have from time to time ravaged the city and its suburbs.

With the exception of the fires already recorded, there was only the conflagration in the Lower Town, in 1682, during the French régime. The destruction of the Chateau was an isolated incident. During the siege of Quebec, in 1759, 532 houses were destroyed by fire, mostly as the result of shells or cascades.

After 1845 we enter upon a very destructive period, the details of which have been given already. Besides these great fires there were numerous others. On the 26th of June, 1861, fifty houses were destroyed in St. Louis Ward. On the 7th of June, 1862, over one



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

hundred houses were consumed by fire in St. John's Ward, and on the 10th of the same month one hundred dwellings were destroyed in St. Sauveur. On the 22nd of June, 1865, nearly one hundred and fifty houses were burnt to the ground in Champlain street, and two months later, on the 17th of August, seventy-five dwellings were destroyed in St. Roch's. In 1866, on the 14th of October, another fire broke out in St. Roch's and destroyed two hundred houses. On the 24th of May, 1870, four hundred and twenty-five houses were burnt in the same suburb. The next fire was in Montcalm Ward, in May, 1876, when four hundred and eleven houses were burnt.

Twelve hundred houses were consumed in St. John's suburb on the 8th of June, 1881, and on the 16th May, 1889 four hundred dwellings suffered a similar fate. In 1889 there was another great fire in St. Rochs.

This table of disasters shows that the greater portion of Quebec has been swept away by the ravages of fire upon more than one occasion. Within recent years the regulations have been enforced against the construction of wooden buildings, which has minimized the danger of a repetition of such wholesale destruction. The establishment and equipment of a good fire brigade with a plentiful supply of water has rendered these unfortunate occurrences less frequent of late years; the last great fire having caused the destruction of the Victoria Hotel, which claimed two victims.

On the 18th of August 1903, the Great Northern Workshops were destroyed.

## MODERN QUEBEC

It will be of interest to many to trace the growth of the population of Quebec since the time when Champlain arrived with his little band of followers.

The census shows the population to have been as follows :

In 1665.....	547
1685.....	1,205
1706.....	1,549
1716.....	1,771
1739.....	4,603
1765.....	8,967
1790.....	14,000
1845.....	46,000
1851.....	42,000
1861.....	50,000
1871.....	60,000
1881.....	62,000
1891.....	63,000
1901.....	68,000

From the figures we have given, it will be seen that the fires of 1845 interfered materially with the progress of Quebec. Many families finding their homes destroyed commenced life afresh in other cities. Thus, in 1851, we find the population given as 42,000, while in 1845 it had been 46,000.

In consequence of the fire in the Chateau St. Louis in 1834 the Governor leased the building at the corner of St. Anne and Fort Sts. for the use of the Government officials.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The Castle, or Chateau St. Louis had always been the residence of the Governors under the French regime, and it was occupied by the English Governors for a long time. In the course of years it was found to be too small for the accommodation of the Governor and the numerous officials. In Lord Haldimand's time a building was erected for public receptions and social functions, which was afterwards known as the Old Chateau. Between 1809 and 1811 a second story was added to the original Chateau, and it was then called the New Chateau. After the fire in 1834, the name of the Chateau St. Louis was given to the other building.

The walls of the Chateau were levelled during Lord Durhams' term, and a terrace was commenced, 160 feet in length, named Durham Terrace.

The terrace was extended to the length of 270 feet in 1854, and in 1879 it was continued to the foot of Cape Diamond Redoubt, giving it a total length of 1,400 feet. This splendid promenade is the favourite resort of the citizens and visitors during the summer evenings. The Chateau Frontenac Hotel has replaced Haldimand house, and nothing now remains of the old castle St. Louis and its dependencies. The Earl of Dufferin proposed to restore the Château as an official residence for the Governors, and magnificent plans were prepared for the purpose.

Quebec, as we have shown, has had its share of disastrous fires. It has also suffered severely from other causes. In the early days of the colony the inhabitants constructed temporary dwellings in the



## MODERN QUEBEC

lower town on the narrow strip of ground situated at the foot of Cape Diamond, and notwithstanding the fact that large portions of the overhanging rock have from time to time fallen, and demolished many of the houses in the district, the people seem to have no desire to abandon the spot. On the 17th of May, 1841, an enormous piece of rock fell, burying eight houses and killing thirty people.

In 1852, another piece of rock gave way, and seven persons were killed. Twenty years later, in 1872, a house containing eight persons was crushed beneath the weight of an avalanche of snow, and none of the unfortunate inmates escaped.

At 8.15 P. M., on the 19th of September, 1899, a portion of the rock at the southern end of Dufferin Terrace, which had been undermined by excessive rain, suddenly gave away. Forty-eight people were killed and over thirty were wounded, and seven houses were buried beneath the ruins.

Quebec has been depopulated by many epidemic diseases. These may be grouped in three classes :

1. Epidemic diseases commonly known as summer complaints, grippe, eruptive fevers, scurvy, whooping cough, diphtheria, erysipelas.
2. Pestilential diseases such as Asiatic cholera.
3. Accidental diseases such as epidemic cerebro-spinal meningitis. Those that caused the greatest ravages were Asiatic cholera, small-pox, scarlet fever, and diphtheria. The presence of scurvy in the country dates from its discovery and the foundation of Quebec.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Wherever the European set foot the scurvy broke out and claimed many victims. Jacques Cartier lost nearly one fourth of his crew from this disease, in the winter of 1535. Twenty-five of his men died, and those who survived owed their recovery to the Indians, who told them of a sovereign remedy. During the first winter after the foundation of Quebec, eighteen, out of the twenty inhabitants, were attacked by this dread disease, and ten of them succumbed, while six died soon after from dysentery. Small-pox claimed many victims, in 1703, 1732, 1733, and 1755. In the 19th century this malignant disease became general in Canada, Quebec suffering as much as the other cities. The epidemic of 1703 was particularly severe. The registers show that there were over two thousand deaths. "Never has such misery been seen," exclaims the historian of the Hotel Dieu. "Everyone was deploring the loss of a relation; one his wife, the other her husband; one his brother, the other his children. Orphans wept for their parents; all were in tears, and there were no gatherings except for funerals." The Hotel Dieu lost five nuns, the General Hospital two, and members of the clergy also fell victims. In 1732, small-pox was brought to Quebec by an Indian, and in a few days it became general until it spread all over Canada. At one time there were two thousand sick. M. Boullard, the *curé* of Quebec, was one of the many victims at this time. In the years 1711, 1718 and 1740, Quebec was visited by a plague, the exact nature of which it is difficult to determine. The historian of the Hotel Dieu



### MODERN QUEBEC

describes it as the disease of Siam. It was brought to Quebec by a ship, in 1711, hailing from the Islands. All who were attacked by it perished. Six nuns of the Hotel Dieu died from it, and twelve priests, including M. Pocquet, the *curé* of Quebec. In the year 1718, one-third of the inmates of the Hotel Dieu died within the space of one month.

The ship bringing Monseigneur de L'Aube-Rivière arrived in Quebec in August, 1740, with one hundred and sixty persons suffering from this disease. Nearly all of them were taken to the Hotel Dieu. "I have never seen so many sick in the hospital," wrote Mère Ste. Hélène; "the wards, garrets and outer parlours all were filled, and we can hardly pass between the beds. All became as black as negroes as soon as they were dead." It was thought at the time that the disease was pupura, and the death of Monseigneur L'Aube-Rivière was attributed to that malignant fever. Besides diseases of an eruptive nature, there were those termed pestilential fevers, which broke out in Quebec in 1709, 1746, 1750, 1757 and 1758. On all these occasions the hospitals of the town were overcrowded, and the devoted sisters paid a large tribute to the mortality of the times. In 1750 the General Hospital lost the confessor of the community in the person of Father Durand. In 1756 six hundred plague stricken patients were admitted to the General Hospital. The ship that brought the fever was burned in the harbour. Six hundred persons died in the General Hospital in 1757, and three hundred in 1758.

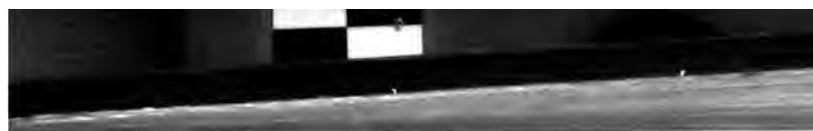
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

On the 14th of August, 1787, the *Pegasus* arrived in port, having on board Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence, the third son of the reigning sovereign. The Prince was the first royal visitor to Quebec since its foundation.

On the 7th of August, 1791, two ships of the Royal Navy under the command of Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, anchored in the St. Lawrence before Quebec. The Prince was the fourth son of the King, and at that time was twenty-five years of age. Two days after the Prince received the homage of the clergy, the civil and military authorities and the inhabitants, in the castle of St. Louis. A grand ball was given on the 2nd of November, the birthday of the Duke, and the city was illuminated at night ; a drama was performed in 1792 in his honour. The Duke remained in Quebec until 1794.

A long interval elapsed before the arrival of another member of the Royal House. It was on the 18th of August, 1860, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, now His Majesty, King Edward the Seventh, landed in Quebec.

As the *Hero* rounded the point of Orleans the cannons from the Citadel, the Ramparts and the men of war, boomed out a royal welcome. The firing continued until the vessel appeared opposite the city, so that Quebec seemed in a state of siege. The volumes of smoke almost obscured the buildings for some time. The people in the streets were so densely packed that it was difficult to obtain standing room. The *Hero*



## CHRONICLE UNDER TWO FLAGS

On the 14th of August, 1867, the *Albatross* arrived in port, having on board Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence, the grandson of the reigning sovereign. The Prince was the first royal visitor to Quebec since the foundation.

On the 15th of August, when two ships of the Royal Navy were in the harbor, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, anchored in the St. Lawrence below Quebec. The Prince was the third son of the King, and at that time was twenty-five years of age. Two days after the Prince received the homage of the clergy, the civil and military authorities and the inhabitants, in the castle of St. Louis. A grand ball was given on the 20th of September, the birthday of the Duke, and on the 21st of September a drama was performed in the theatre. The Duke remained in Quebec until the 25th.

On the 26th of September, the arrival of another vessel in the harbor. It was on the 28th of August, when the British Highness the Prince of Wales, the second son of King Edward the seventh, arrived in Quebec.

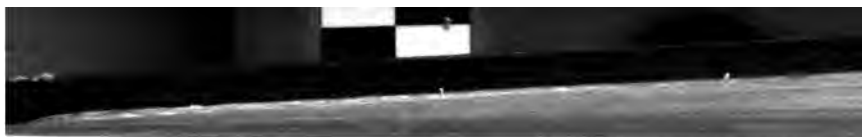
On the 29th of September, the Prince of Wales, the second son of King Edward the seventh, arrived in Quebec. The Prince was the third son of the King, and at that time was twenty-five years of age. Two days after the Prince received the homage of the clergy, the civil and military authorities and the inhabitants, in the castle of St. Louis. A grand ball was given on the 20th of September, the birthday of the Duke, and on the 21st of September a drama was performed in the theatre. The Duke remained in Quebec until the 25th.



*Hint Gate.*

20  
11





### MODERN QUEBEC

was moored at the Queen's Wharf, where all the eminent people were assembled to welcome His Royal Highness. The mayor of the city, Sir Hector Langevin, presented an address of welcome, after which the Royal guests drove to the residence of the Governor Sir Edmund Head. In the evening, the city of Quebec, the town of Lévis, and the village of Beauport, were illuminated.

On the following days there were many demonstrations not less flattering to the Prince. A reception was held at Laval University on the 21st of August in honour of the Prince at which nine Bishops were present. The Prince visited the Ursuline convent and other communities during his sojourn in Quebec.

The festivities which attended the visit of their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, on the 17th of September, 1901, were not less brilliant. As the *Orphis* appeared before Quebec a royal salute was fired from the Citadel and from the ships in port. His Excellency, the Earl of Minto, received the royal guests at the landing place, accompanied by the members of the Cabinet. The passage of their Royal Highnesses from the wharf to the Parliament was one of triumph. At the entrance to the grounds a beautiful arch had been erected under the direction, and from the designs of Mr. Eugène Taché, I. S. O. In the centre of the arch a floral bell was hung to which silken strings were attached, held by little girls clothed in white. As the royal visitors passed under the arch, the bell was set in

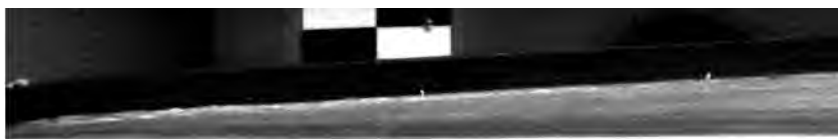


### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

motion, and flowers fell upon them. A platform was erected in the grounds for a choir of thousands of children, and at a given signal a chorus was sung as the Duke and Duchess proceeded to the main entrance of the Parliament. An address was presented to His Royal Highness by the Hon. S. N. Parent. In the afternoon a reception was held in Laval University, at which the professors and doctors of the University were presented to the royal guests. On the following day a review was held on the Race Course, after which the Duke and Duchess were the guests of Sir Louis and Lady Jetté at Spencer Wood. The illumination of the city during the evening was a memorable sight.

His Royal Highness Prince Alfred was a guest of the city in 1861, and Prince Arthur in 1869. Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise was often a visitor to Quebec, during the time that her husband the Marquess of Lorne, was Governor General of Canada. The Grand Duke Alexis of Russia paid a visit to Quebec in 1871, and Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, came in 1876. The Marquis de Lévis, the Marquis de Charette, the Prince de Joinville, Prince Napoléon Bonaparte, the Count de Paris, the Duke of Orléans, and many other distinguished visitors have paid short visits to the city at different times.

Quebec has frequently recalled the memory of important historical events with befitting celebrations, and it is interesting to note that the two races which preserve their individuality, are one on occasions such as this.

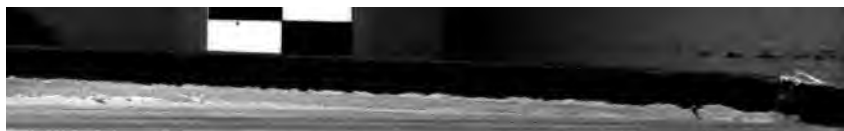


### MODERN QUEBEC

Thus in the year 1875, the Quebec Literary and Historical Society assembled to celebrate the victory obtained over Arnold's troops in 1775. The same event was also celebrated by the French Canadians under the auspices of the Institut Canadien. A lecture was delivered by the late Mr. Turcotte, and the proceedings were afterwards published in pamphlet form. The fourth centenary of the discovery of America was recalled by an entertainment given by the Institut. High mass was celebrated in the Basilica, and in the evening speeches were delivered in the Academy of Music by Messrs. Routhier and Chapais.

The Seminary of Quebec and Laval University have held several notable festivals. On the 16th of June, 1859, the Seminary celebrated the bi-centenary of the arrival of its founder Monseigneur de Laval, and again on the 30th of June, 1863, the two hundredth anniversary of its foundation was suitably honoured.

A very brilliant festival was held in Quebec on the 20th June, 1886, to commemorate the installation of the first Canadian Cardinal, Monseigneur E. A. Taschereau, who for fifteen years had been Archbishop of Quebec. His talents, his eminent virtue, and his prudent administration of the diocese, had won for him the highest honour which the Church confers upon her servants. Twenty-one archbishops and Bishops were present at the ceremony in the Basilica, and tributes from all over the Dominion were laid at the feet of the new Cardinal. In the evening a meeting was held at the Skating Rink, when Judge Routhier



## • QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

made a remarkable speech. Monseigneur O'Brien, the Papal Ablegate, remarked : " I have never heard a more eloquent, a more Catholic or a more theological speech."

Scarcely a year passes in Quebec without a special celebration. Sometimes it is on the occasion of the visits of His Excellency the Governor-General, or of distinguished visitors from abroad ; or when any of the vessels of the Royal navy or of foreign countries are in port, but whenever a suitable opportunity is offered the citizens are always eager to maintain their reputation for hospitality.

In the second part of this work, we have given a more detailed account of many of the public buildings, and places of interest in the city.





## GENERAL INDEX. TWO FLAGS

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*1884-85  
 His Excellency the Countess of. Minto.  
 with the. Frontenac. Team*





## CHAPTER XIII

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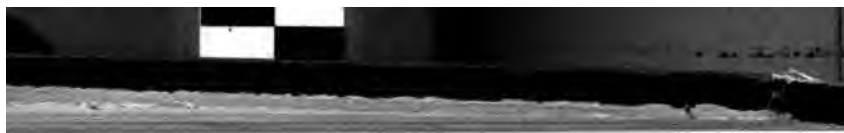
### CATHOLIC CHURCHES

THE BASILICA—NOTRE DAME DE LA PAIX—THE FIRST  
MASS — THE CURES OF QUEBEC — THE PARISH  
CHURCHES — CHAPELS OF COMMUNITIES.

**Q**UEBEC has nine parish churches, four others in charge of chaplains, and thirteen chapels attached to religious communities but open to the public.

The first of the parish churches, both as regards antiquity and rank, is the Cathedral, erected as a minor basilica in 1874. Until 1829, it was the only parish church, but since then seven parishes have been formed in the territory formerly occupied by all the parishioners of the city. These parishes are : St. Roch, St. Patrick, St. Sauveur, St. Jean Baptiste, Notre Dame de la Garde, Stadacona, Limoilou, St. Malo and Jacques Cartier.

The four churches in charge of chaplains, and not connected with religious communities, are those of



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Notre Dame des Victoires, Notre Dame de Lourdes, Notre Dame du Chemin, and the church of the Congregation in the Upper Town.

Finally, the chapels of communities are those of the Ursulines, the Hotel Dieu, the Seminary, the General Hospital, the Good Shepherd, the Sisters of Charity, the Patronage, the Ladies of the Congregation of St. Roch, St. Louis Asylum, the Franciscan nuns, the Franciscan monks, the St. Antoine Asylum, the Christian Brothers' Academy. Several other interior chapels of smaller dimensions also have their particular history. But we have been compelled to leave it aside and refer only to the more important ones.

### THE BASILICA OF QUEBEC

The first parish church of Quebec was that of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance erected by Champlain in 1633. The sudden increase of the population in 1634 and 1635 compelled the Jesuits to enlarge it to the extent of one half and they took advantage of this enlargement to have it dedicated again. It was placed under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th December, 1636, and destroyed by the fire of the 14th June 1640. The disaster was complete ; the bell and chalices were melted by the heat ; the registers of the parish were burned with all the contents of the church. The poverty of the inhabitants was so great that many years elapsed before the building of another church was thought of. In fact, it was only on the

## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

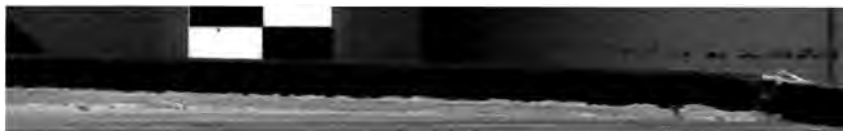
8th October, 1645, that any steps were taken in this direction. At a special meeting presided over by Father Vimont, Robert Giffard and Noel Juchereau des Chatelets, the churchwardens in office, with the consent of Pierre Delaunay and Olivier C. Tardif, ex-churchwardens, who had succeeded the first church-warden François Gand, sieur de Ré, it was resolved to build without delay and to erect the future church under the name of Notre Dame de la Paix ; there were to be two chapels : one dedicated to St. Joseph, the patron of the country, and the other to St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier.

### NOTRE DAME DE LA PAIX

Such was the original title of the parish church of Quebec. Why was this name chosen in preference to any other ? In the previous month of September at a meeting held in Three Rivers, peace was concluded with the Iroquois, and it was probably with a view of perpetuating the memory of that alliance that the new dedication took place.

Two years elapsed before the work was begun. Nevertheless, during the summer of 1646, six men had been engaged in setting out stones and clearing the site which was about the same as that on which the church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance had been built.

The foundation stone was laid on the 23rd of September, 1647. The following is the text of the document giving the date and setting forth the facts connected with the ceremony.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

" On the 23rd September, 1640. Rev. Father Hierosme Lallemant, superior of the mission and M. de Montmagny, the governor, laid the corner stone of the church of Notre Dame de la Conception in Quebec under the name of Notre Dame de la Paix. The said stone is at the angle of the window frame on the left hand side as one enters the church, on the side and in the corner nearest the main altar. The names of Jesus and Mary are carved on the stone with a lead plate.

B. VIMONT."

Work was begun in earnest only in the spring of 1648, and was continued in the following years. Mass was celebrated in it on Christmas day, 1650. The same Father blessed it and celebrated the first mass.

From 1650 to 1657 the work went slowly and the new church was finally opened on the 31st March, 1657. The building was one hundred feet by thirty-three.

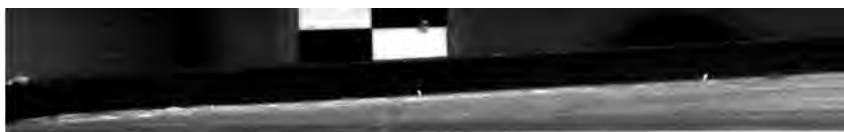
The parish church was canonically erected by Monseigneur de Laval in 1664 and united to the Seminary. It was consecrated on the 11th July 1666.

In 1677 some work was done on the entrance side. The steeple was begun in 1684 ; one of the towers remained unfinished.

In 1687 the church was lengthened by 50 feet ; this work was finished in 1689 ; it had been entrusted to a Parisian architect, Hilaire Bernard.

In 1745, it was again lengthened by 40 feet and the two side-aisles that still exist were then added.

All these works were finished in 1748 that is a hundred years after the corner stone was laid.



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

To resume, we may say that the pillars of the nave date from 1647, the towers from 1684 and the remainder of the church from 1745.

During the siege of Quebec in 1759, all the wooden part was burned with the exception of the base of the steeple. The walls were considerably damaged by the cannon balls and shells. In 1767 it was decided to repair it but work was begun only in 1769. It was then lengthened by 22 feet on the side of the sanctuary, so that its length was 216 feet and its width 94 feet, including the walls. The building as repaired was fit for occupation in 1771.

Since then the only changes on the outside were made to the front in 1843, the door was built around with cut stone from Pointe-aux-Trembles and in 1849, the famous tower on the north side was commenced which is still incomplete. Governor Carleton in 1775 gave a clock with 3 chimes for the steeple. In 1823 Mr. Wells replaced it with a wooden clock.

The interior of the Basilica excites the admiration of strangers, not so much on account of its architectural proportions as by its rich paintings, baldachin, pulpit, and side-chapels, and the pious souvenirs connected with it. In the sanctuary of this cathedral lie the remains of nearly all the bishops of Quebec; of the *curés* and canons of the French régime; of the last two representatives of the Jesuits and Récollets, and of seven to eight hundred laymen and women belonging to the first families of Quebec.

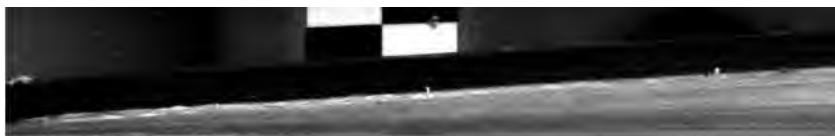


## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The cure of Quebec, the only irremovable one in Canada, is deserving of special study, not only because it has been filled by eminent men, but also on account of the high rank that has always been attributed to it. Three priests have left it to fill the episcopal See of Quebec ; others have filled it while occupying the position of Superior of the Seminary ; all have been distinguished for their talents or their virtues. Henri de Bernières, Ango des Maizerets, Bertrand de la Tour, Plessis, Signay, Baillargeon, Proulx, were model *curés* of whom the sanctuary retains precious souvenirs.

The first titular *curé* was Gabriel de Queylus, *abbé* of Loc-Dieu. Some time after his arrival in the country he received the keys of the parish church from Father Poncet, Jesuit (1657). We find in the archives of Notre-Dame de Quebec a note in which it is stated that M. l'*Abbé* de Queylus, having no presbytery, brought a suit against the Jesuits to make them hand over to him the new building they had erected, or repay the six hundred livres they had accepted in 1645 for the purpose of erecting a presbytery on the church grounds.

Abbé Jean Torcapel succeeded M. de Queylus in 1659. He was a priest whom the Bishop of Petrea had brought with him from France. His health did not allow him to retain the cure beyond a year. He left for France on the 18th of October, 1660, leaving in charge M. Henri de Bernières, who had been ordained on the 13th of March previous. The new *curé* enjoyed



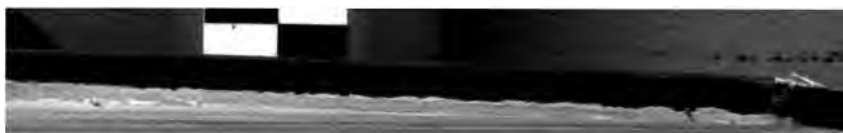
## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

the Bishop's full confidence. He was the nephew of M. de Bernières Louvigny of the Hermitage of Caen, where Monseigneur de Laval had spent many pleasant days. He had been trained in the same school of virtue, beside M. Ango de Maizerets, M. Jean Du Douyt, and M. Thomas Morel, who became powerful assistants of the venerable prelate on Canadian soil.

M. de Bernières became titular *curé* only in 1664 and continued in office until 1672 while retaining the position of superior of the Seminary. M. Ango des Maizerets replaced him from 1672 to 1673 when M. de Bernières resumed his duties as *curé* of Quebec, for fourteen years longer, that is until 1687.

He was succeeded by abbé J. Dupré who remained in office for twenty years (1687-1707). Like his two immediate predecessors and some of those who came after him until 1768, M. Dupré was a member of the *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères*. The latter were Pierre Pocquet (1707-11), Thomas Thiboult (1711-24), Etienne Boullard (1724-33), Bertrand de la Tour (1734-44), Lyon Saint-Ferréol (1734-37), Jacques Dartigues (1738-39) Charles Plante (1739-44), M. Delbois (1744-49), Jean François Récher (1749-68). During the siege of Quebec 1759 the *curé* of Quebec had to lodge at the Ursulines until the 24th December 1764 and celebrated parochial offices in the Seminary chapel.

Bernard Sylvestre Dosque took charge of the cure in 1769 and at his death in 1774, was replaced by Auguste David Hubert, ordained the previous year.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

He was drowned in 1792 near the Island of Orleans. He was succeeded by Joseph Octave Plessis. This young priest soon made himself conspicuous by his eloquence, and his cool judgment amidst the turmoil of spiritual and temporal matters. Devoted to his ministry he neglected no means to retain his flock within the fold and bring back those that wandered from it. He taught catechism, and visited the sick like the humblest of his vicars. He was very earnest in the cause of education that had been greatly neglected. After his consecration as bishop Monseigneur Plessis continued to perform the duties of *curé* and he relinquished them to M. André Doucet only in 1806, five years after his appointment as coadjutor. M. Doucet was appointed in 1806, and remained in office until 1814, when he was succeeded by M. Joseph Siguyay who had until then been a missionary on Lake Champlain. This worthy priest became coadjutor when Monseigneur Panet succeeded Monseigneur Plessis.

M. Charles François Baillargeon was appointed *curé* of Quebec in 1831. A model of piety and of every virtue, the new pastor displayed in the *cure* the qualities that were later on to distinguish him as Bishop.

M. Louis Proulx occupied the office only for a very short time. His temperament and tastes led him to labor far from cities; and yet his qualities would have made him appear to advantage on any scene. He possessed knowledge, prudence and a calm judgment; all precious gifts which would have caused him to be as highly appreciated in the town and in the country.



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

In 1851, M. Joseph Auclair exchanged *curés* with M. Proulx. All who knew M. Auclair praised his zeal for the church, his proverbial cheerfulness and the care he took in preparing his sermons. He was a poet at times ; his short heroic-comic poem, *Le Congrès de la Baie St. Paul*, is well and favourably known.

M. Auclair died at the end of November, 1887, and was succeeded by M. F. X. Faguy, whose official appointment dates from January, 1888. His administration during fourteen years has been judicious. Few *curés* have done as much as he for the ornamentation of the Basilica of Notre Dame or have given a more imposing character to the great festivals of the church. Through his efforts the monumental tablets of the four Governors of New France ; to the Jesuits and Recollets whose ashes lie in the vaults of the parish church, have been erected.

### THE CHURCH OF ST. ROCH

On the 18th April 1811, Mr. John Munn gave Monseigneur Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, a lot of land conceded by Mr. Joseph Frenette for the erection of a church. On the 16th May following, the citizens of Quebec met and passed a vote of thanks to the generous donor and elected trustees for the construction of the church. Amongst these trustees was Brother Louis, a Recollet, and Mr. Louis Claude Gauvreau, an ancestor of the present curé of St. Roch.

The first stone of the new church was blessed on the 28th August 1811 by Vicar-General Descheneaux.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The fire of the 18th December, 1816, destroyed the building with the exception of the sacristy. The work of rebuilding began at once, and on the 8th of October, 1818, Monseigneur Plessis opened this second chapel for public worship. Until then the banlieue of St. Roch was only a branch of the parish of Notre Dame de Québec. Nevertheless Monseigneur Plessis took great interest in this group of well disposed faithful and on the 17th June, 1821, he had the pleasure of consecrating there, Monseigneur McEachern, the first Bishop of Charlottetown. This was the occasion of a general celebration.

On the 15th September, 1829, Abbé C. F. Cazeau, under-secretary of the bishop of Quebec, presided at a meeting held by the citizens of St. Roch suburbs, hitherto a dependency of the upper town parish, for the purpose of erecting their suburb into a parish. Their resolution was carried unanimously and on the 26th of September of the same year, Monseigneur Bernard Claude Panet issued the decree erecting the parish.

On the 28th May, 1845, the church of St. Roch was destroyed by fire; the convent and the catechism chapel (the present mortuary chapel) were saved; the latter was destroyed in the fire of the 24th May, 1870, but was rebuilt the same year. For a long while it was used in connection with funerals, and in 1882 it was finally closed as a place of divine worship.

The parish of St. Roch has increased since its foundation to such an extent that the religious author-

## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

ities have been obliged, at various intervals, to make new parishes out of it ; these are St. Sauveur, Limoilou, Stadacona and Jacques-Cartier.

St. Sauveur was erected into a parish on the 1st of May, 1867. The name was given in remembrance of Abbé Jean LeSueur de St. Sauveur, the first secular priest who came to Canada (1634) and who had charge of the small chapel of St. John at Côteau Ste. Geneviève.

The parish of Limoilou dates from the 24th of May, 1895. The name is that of the residence of Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of Canada, a few miles from St. Malo in Brittany. Stadacona was erected into a parish on the same day.

Jacques-Cartier was erected as a parish on the 25th September, 1901.

These four new parishes, detached from St. Roch, are very flourishing, especially St. Sauveur, which has become the parent of another parish called St. Malo.

Before the erection of St. Roch suburbs into a parish, it was in charge of chaplains. This period covers eleven years, from 1818 to 1829. The chaplains were Messrs. Hyacinthe Hudon, Claude Gauvreau, Jos. F. Aubry, C. F. Baillargeon, Hugh Paisley, Alexis Mailloux, Jean Naud, Louis Desfossés and Benjamin Desrochers.

The first *curé* was M. A. Mailloux, from 1829 to 1831, then followed in succession, M. David Henri Têtu, from 1833 to 1839 ; Zéphyrin Charest, from 1839 to 1876 ; F. X. Gosselin, from 1876 to 1885 ; T. H.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Bélanger, from 1885 to 1895. The present *curé*, Abbé Antoine Gauvreau, has with rare disinterestedness effected the dismembering of his parish and has also succeeded in founding an asylum which is of great service to the poorer classes of St. Roch.

The church of St. Roch is sufficiently spacious, 178 feet by 91. In 1871, the chapel dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was built on St. Francis street, after a retreat preached by Reverend Father Resther, S. J. The chapel was blessed in June, 1873.

In the sanctuary is the heart of Monseigneur Plessis, which was transferred from the General Hospital on the 30th September, 1847, and also the body of Abbé Desfossés, one of the chaplains of St. Roch.

The three bells were placed in the steeple in July 1847, and blessed on the 3rd of the same month.

In front of the church is a gilt statue of St. Roch with his dog.

## THE CHURCH OF ST. JEAN BAPTISTE

The first church of St. Jean Baptiste suburbs was begun in 1847 and blessed on the 25th June, 1849. Its dimensions were 180 feet by 80. From 1849 to 1886 the church was a branch of the cathedral and was in charge of a chaplain. On the 8th of June, 1881, it was destroyed by the disastrous fire that swept away one half the suburbs. A new and much larger church, 234 feet by 87 which was blessed on the 27th of July, 1884, has replaced it.



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

The parish of St. Jean Baptiste was canonically erected on the 24th May, 1886, by a decree of Cardinal Taschereau, and the civil erection was sanctioned by an act of the Legislature, dated the 21st of June in the same year.

The present population of the parish is 12,000 souls.

The interior of this church is very pretty, but the exterior is especially remarkable for its elegant proportions and the beauty of its façade.

### THE CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DE LA GARDE

The decree authorizing the construction of this church is dated 9th of April, 1877. Work was begun at once on the building which is of cut stone 100 feet by 50. The style is Roman.

Notre Dame de la Garde was erected into a parish on the 23rd of July 1885, and detached from the cathedral of which it had been a branch until then.

### CHURCH OF ST. MALO

The parish of St. Malo was founded on the 1st of July, 1898. The church was blessed on the 4th of February 1899 by His Grace Archbishop Bégin. The dimensions are imposing, 175 feet by 64 with a transept of 95 feet. The style is Roman.

The first curé of St. Malo was abbé Henri Defoy, now a religious of the order of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament. His successor *abbé* H. Bouffard is the present incumbent.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

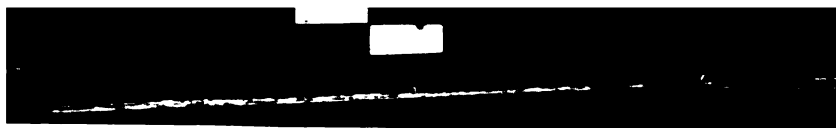
Close by the church stands the convent in charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame. The corner-stone of this pretty building was blessed on the 18th of August, 1901 ; its dimensions are 80 feet by 45, and it is four stories high.

The college, near by, was built in 1899. The classes opened on the 11th September of the same year under the direction of the Petits Frères de Marie. It is attended by over 400 pupils.

The parish of St. Malo has a house of Providence. This work of charity was begun on the 10th of November, 1902, in the old girls' school. It comprises an infant school for both sexes and a *patronage* for the older girls, the latter being under the direction of the Franciscan Nuns.

## MONASTERY AND CHURCH OF THE URSULINES

On their arrival in the beginning of August 1639, the Ursuline nuns lodged in a poor dwelling in the lower town at the place now occupied by Blanchard's Hotel facing the church of Notre Dame des Victoires. It was not until the spring of 1641 that they were in a position to begin building in the upper town, on grounds conceded to them by the Company of the Hundred Associates. On the 21st November 1642 they took possession of their new monastery which was ninety-two feet long and twenty-eight deep. " It is the largest and the finest house in Canada " writes *Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*.







*Ursuline Convent.*

*St. Mary's*



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

On the 29th of May 1652, the nuns had the consolation of opening a second monastery of larger proportions. This new building was one hundred and eight feet long and was much more comfortable and spacious than the first building which was destroyed by fire on the 30th of December, 1650. On the 20th of October, 1686 a second conflagration destroyed the monastery. The nuns set to work at once and resolved to rebuild on the same foundation with the addition of a wing called after the Holy Family which was already begun. The boarders were re-admitted on the 9th of November, 1687.

From 1712 to 1715 the monastery was again enlarged, but the nuns concentrated their efforts chiefly on the building of a more suitable chapel.

The inside chapel of the Ursulines is of quite recent construction. The contract for building it was signed on the 16th of May, 1901. It is a splendid structure of majestic proportions with a superb and richly decorated vault.

The outside chapel which it was at first intended to preserve as it was built in 1720, had also to be demolished because the roof and walls were in bad order and it would have been imprudent to rest the new inside chapel on such a ruin. The plan was made by Mr. David Ouellet, architect, who retained the style, ornaments, altars, pulpit, columns and carving of the old building.

On the 28th of August, 1901, the corner-stone was blessed by Monseigneur Bégin, Archbishop of Quebec,

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assisted by Monseigneur A. Vacher, P. S. S., Canon of the Basilica of Loretto and Procurator of the Canadian College in Rome.

The solemn benediction of both chapels took place on the 21st of November, 1902, the 260th anniversary of the installation of the foundresses in their first monastery in the Upper Town, on the 21st of November, 1642. Monseigneur Bégin officiated at this ceremony, which was followed by a pontifical mass at which the Lieutenant-Governor Sir L. A. Jetté, and Lady and Mademoiselle Jetté were present, with many members of the clergy.

In his sermon, the Abbé Lindsay, a former chaplain of the monastery, related the history of the new chapel and compared actual events with those that had occurred on the same day in 1642.

This chapel is the third that has been built since the foundation of the first monastery. The first, called Madame de la Peltrie's chapel, was begun in 1656. M. de Lauzon, then Governor of New France, laid the corner-stone.

In 1667, M. the Marquis de Tracy caused a chapel dedicated to St. Anne to be added to the Ursulines' church. He himself laid the corner-stone, which was blessed by Mgr. de Laval. This church was destroyed by fire on the 20th of October, 1686.

The second church, begun in 1720, was inaugurated on the vigil of the Assumption, the 14th of August, 1722, by Mgr. de Saint Valier. During the recent work of demolition the corner-stone laid in 1720

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was found. It is a fine arch like stone closed with a leaden plate bearing the inscription : " The first stone was laid by a poor boy representing St. Joseph to obtain the protection of that great saint, 16th May, 1720." A copper medal lying in the hollow of the stone bears the image of Jesus, of Mary and of Joseph.

The Ursuline monastery possesses riches of all kinds : paintings, engravings, books, and church ornaments. Most of the paintings in the chapel were bought in France about 1815, by Abbé Desjardins, Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Paris.

These pictures are :

### THE LARGE OIL PAINTINGS

1. (*Over the main altar.*) The Birth of the Saviour :  
Shepherds adoring.....LeBrun.
2. (*At the side altar.*) Our Lord revealing His Heart  
to nuns of the Visitation Order.
3. (*Along the nave, on the left-hand.*) The Parable.  
of the Wise and the Foolish  
Virgins.....Pietro da Cortona.
4. The Miraculous Draught of  
fishes.....Ant. de Dieu.
5. The Visitation of the Blessed  
Virgin.....Collin de Vermont.
6. Christian Captives in Algiers,  
ransomed by the Trinitarian  
Fathers.....Claude Guy Hallé.
7. (*Over the Door-way.*) Jesus at the Supper Table  
of Simon the Pharisee.....P. de Champagne.
8. St. Nonnus, bishop, receiving to a penitential life the  
converted comedian, Pelagia..P. P. Prud'hon.

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9. An Anchoret, pleading for a penitent's admission into a monastery.

*(The subject of this painting not yet fully identified)*

### SMALLER PAINTINGS

1. (*Within the Sanctuary.*) The mystic Espousals of St. Catherine . . . . . Pietro da Cartona.
2. The Holy Face of Our Lord.
3. (*Over the pulpit.*) The Madonna and Child.
4. Our Lord falling under the Cross.
5. St. Jerome receiving his Last Communion. (*Supposed copy of Domenichini.*)
6. Holy Family, visited by the Baptist. (*Legendary.*)

### HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

1. To The Marquis, General Montcalm, buried in 1759. —Monument erected in 1859 ; Epitaph composed by the French Academy in 1763.
2. A marble slab, erected by the English Governor, Lord Aylmer, in 1831.
3. In memory of the Jesuits Fathers, de Quen and Duperron, who had labored for the conversion of the Huron tribes ; they died, 1659, 1655. Also the lay brother Liegeois, who died in Quebec, 1655. Their mortal remains were removed from Sillery to the church of the Ursulines, 1891.

### MEMORIAL TABLETS

1. Father Thomas Maguire, worthy chaplain of the Ursulines during 18 years. Deceased, July 19th, 1854, at the age of 82.
2. Father Patrick Doherty. (*See his epitaph.*)



### CATHOLIC CHURCHES

3. Father George LeMoine, devoted chaplain of the Ursulines, from 1854 to 1890. Died, aged 73, in the 50th year of his ordination to the priesthood.

Other memorial tablets, along the walls, are inscribed with the names and age of those whose bodies likewise repose beneath the church, awaiting the resurrection.

The monastery also owns old engravings from the establishments of Basset le jeune, Andran and F. Landry, Paris.

The archives contain the annals of the community, the papers, and title-deeds, bearing the signature of several French governors; the original of the letters patent for the erection of a monastery of Ursulines in New France with the signature and royal seal of Louis XV.

The religious library contains 3,000 volumes; the scientific, literary and pedagogical library contains 7,200. Until the year 1868, there was an old ash tree standing near the entrance to the Convent under the shade of which the Venerable Foundress instructed the Indian children. The wood of this tree forms the pedestal of an old French cross formerly on the spire of the first convent, and now set up in the garden.

The destruction of the first monastery by fire despoiled the Ursuline nuns of the gifts offered to the foundresses by several important personages in France. Nevertheless they still possess a monstrance, a censor, a reliquary with a relic of the true Cross, and a massive silver crucifix given by Madame de la Peltrie; two

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altar cloths made out of silk damask curtains which, according to the traditions of the monastery, belonged to Louis XVI. The church ornaments and vestments were worked by the first nuns and are still in a perfect state of preservation.

The monastery contains portraits in oil of the Venerable Mother Mary of the Incarnation, of Mother St. Joseph, of Madame de la Peltrie, of the Venerable Mgr. de Laval, dating from the 17th century, the portrait of the Duchesse de Senecy, first lady of honor of Anne of Austria and governess of Louis XIV ; of *abbé* Desjardins, of Lord and Lady Aylmer, of Lady Prevost, of Madame Lebrun painted by herself. Bottini, an Italian painter, painted from imagination the portrait of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, in 1877.

The number of professed nuns is.....	58
“ novices .....	9
“ professed lay sisters ....	22
“ novice “ ....	4
“ pupil boarders .....	201
“ pupil half-boarders.....	160
“ day pupils.....	128
“ normal school pupils....	78

At Merici, a branch of the convent, formerly known as Marchmont, there are 5 nuns, 2 lay sisters, 19 boarders, 3 half-boarders and 10 day-pupils.

In the Ursuline chapel is a marble slab placed by Lord Aylmer in 1831 to commemorate the glory of Montcalm whose ashes repose in the vaults of the chapel.



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The marble slab bears the following inscription :

HONNEUR A MONTCALM !  
LE DESTIN EN LUI DÉROBANT LA VICTOIRE,  
L'A RECOMPENSÉ PAR UNE MORT GLORIEUSE.

HONOUR TO MONTCALM  
DESTINY, WHILE ROBBING HIM OF VICTORY,  
REWARDED HIM WITH A GLORIOUS DEATH.

The Chapel of the Saints contains a precious souvenir of bygone days in the form of a votive lamp, the flame of which was first kindled by Marie Madeleine de Repentigny in the year 1717. During the stormy days of the siege of Quebec when shells from the British batteries wrought havoc amongst the buildings in the upper town, the Convent did not escape. In the corridors may still be seen the grim remains of those destructive messengers, which were powerless to deter the good nuns from keeping faithful vigil in the Chapel of the Saints. Ten of the nuns remained at their post, and thus throughout those days of alternate hope and despair, the lamp was kept steadfastly burning. Recently a descendant of a branch of the family, Miss Madeleine Anthon, presented to the Convent a solid silver lamp to replace it. The design was executed by the celebrated house of Armand Calliat, of Lyons, and it is described as follows by the Rev. L. St. G. Lindsay, a former chaplain of the Convent.

“ Cette lampe, qui est entièrement d'argent 1er titre, avec dorure ors et couleurs, et émaux au feu, aussi bien que les chaînes et le pavillon, pèse 1398 grammes. En voici le poème dans les détails : Un large bandeau,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

ciselé en relief, supporte quinze roses émaillées, cinq blanches, cinq rouges et cinq jaunes, couleurs emblématiques des mystères du Rosaire. Trois volutes auxquelles les chaînes sont attachées supportent cette lampe qui se termine par un pendentif ciselé en relief et par une croix émaillée. Trois chapelets aux grains de lapis bleu du Tyrol sont suspendus au-dessus du bandeau de la lampe. Des lys au naturel timbrent le bandeau du pavillon et s'accrochent aux volutes."

The lamp bears this inscription composed by the Abbé Lindsay :

VETERI LVCERNÆ  
LVCENTI SEMPER ET ARDENTI  
QVAM VIRGO PRVDENS  
MAGDALENA DE REPENTIGNY  
SPONSALI DIE  
DVOBVS ABHINC SÆCVLIS  
IN DEIPARÆ HONOREM LETA ACCENDIT  
MARIA MAGDALENA ANTHON  
EJVSDFM COGNATA  
IN SIGNVM FIDEI ITERVM ACCENSÆ  
AVREAM HANC LAMPADEM  
MIRA ARTE CÆLATAM  
ROSISQVE LILIISQVE GEMMATAM  
A D. MCMIII  
SVBSTITVIT

Marie-Madeleine de Repentigny entered the Ursuline Convent as a pupil at the age of ten years. Her future career is very well described in "Scenes from the history of the Ursulines of Quebec," published by a member of the community in the year 1897. The extract here given is from that work :



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

" After leaving the convent, she, like many others, had not formed to herself any fixed plan of life, and soon found herself surrounded with those temptations which often beset the pathway of a young girl on her entry into the world. Gay parties of pleasure, frivolous amusements, idle conversation, filled up the precious hours from day to day, leaving her little time for reflection, serious reading or prayer. The prestige of wit, rank and beauty on the one side, that of merit, politeness and noble demeanour on the other, soon resulted in the preliminaries of an alliance which appeared advantageous in the eyes of the world, and which met with the approval of Marie-Madeleine's parents, as well as those of the young officer, her intended, who was a relative of the family. On such occasions when all seems so bright for the future, who thinks of seriously consulting to know the will of God?"

" Suddenly the young officer is called away on duty. Alas, for the fallacious promises of earthly happiness! The first report brings tidings of his death. To the violent grief and mourning of the first months, succeeds an attempt to dissipate this irksome gloom of mind by plunging anew into the whirl of worldly pleasures. But the kind hand of Providence was still extended, waiting the moment to reclaim this prodigal child and lead her to an abode of peace and security. At one of the churches of the city, an eloquent and zealous Jesuit was giving the exercises of a retreat for young ladies. Marie-Madeleine went with the rest, but soon found that the sacred orator was preaching—so it seemed to be—for her alone. " What will it avail a man to gain the whole world, and yet lose his own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" ..... " After due consultation, she seeks admission into the novitiate of the Ursulines. The nuns remembering her many good qualities, without hesitation,

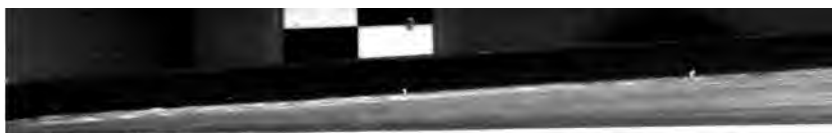
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

accepted her. But no sooner had she reached Quebec, than she began to experience the torments of doubt and perplexity. Was she truly called?..... On entering the novitiate the trial disappears, but it soon returns with such violence that the convent seems to be as irksome as it had at first appeared delightful. But Marie-Madeleine, now Sister Sainte Agathe, had learned the force of prayer. She takes refuge at the feet of Mary. She calls upon her as the Mother of Mercy, the Virgin most Potent, and is heard. The clouds have rolled back from her soul, that now basks in the effulgence of joy.

"Confirmed, henceforth, in her vocation ; grateful for the protection of Heaven, she begs permission to found a perpetual memento of the grace, the invisible light she has received. Her own life, cheerful, courageous, mortified, during the twenty years she had yet to spend in the monastery, was another light, rejoicing her companions more than the Votive Lamp which she daily trimmed with sentiments ever fresh of piety and gratitude."

These are the facts regarding the Votive Lamp in the Ursuline Convent. In the "Golden Dog," Mr. Kirby has represented a Mademoiselle Amélie Repentigny as seeking admission to the convent at the time of the death of Nicolas Jacquin Philibert by the hand of her brother, and connects her name with a gallant Colonel, Pierre Philibert. We have shown, however, in a previous chapter, that this "brave officer" was of the ripe age of ten years and eight months at the death of his father.

Marie-Madeleine de Repentigny de St. Agathe was called to her rest on the 25th of February, 1739.



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

### ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH

For many years after the Treaty of Paris, which gave to the Catholics of Canada "the free exercise of the Catholic religion, in so far as the laws of Great Britain can permit", the Irish Catholics, or those speaking the English language in the city of Quebec, had no special church set apart for them; and consequently the Parish Church, now the Basilica, served for Catholics of whatever race. Efforts were put forth from time to time to establish an independent Church; but the necessary means were not forthcoming. At a meeting of Irish citizens held in Quebec in the year 1819, it was resolved to honour the Feast of the Patron Saint by the celebration of High Mass in the Church of the Congregation in the Upper Town. A sermon was preached on this occasion, and this is the first record that we have of the observance of the day in the city. Three years later, at an hour before the regular service in the Parish Church, the Irish and English speaking Catholics attended as a congregation, when the Reverend Father Lawlor officiated. Very soon after the Reverend Father McMahon, who for many years was closely identified with the development of Irish Catholic institutions in the city, was appointed to the charge of this congregation. The Parish Church appears to have been used regularly for some years, but in 1828, the services were held in the historic Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, in the Lower Town. The accommodation offered by this Church was totally inadequate

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

for the requirements of the Irish and English Catholic population, which now numbered over 6,000. Subscriptions were therefore taken to form a fund for the construction of an independent Church. The sum of about \$10,000 was collected for the purpose, to which many Protestants generously subscribed, and the land was purchased upon which the Church now stands. This ground was sold and conveyed by Archange Baby, wife of John Cannon, Architect, of Quebec, to the Reverend Patrick McMahon, J. Cannon, Wm. Burke, Wm. Stillings, J. Coote, Wm. O'Brien, Michael Quigley and J. Byrne, under a deed passed before W. F. Scott, N. P., on the third of November, 1831. The ground is thus described in the deed :—" All that  
" certain lot, tract or parcel of ground, situated, lying  
" and being in the Upper Town of the city of Quebec,  
" bounded in front, on the south west, by St. Stanislas  
" street, extending along the same fifty nine feet three  
" inches, French measure ; in the rear, to the north  
" east, by a lot of ground belonging to Peter Burnett,  
" extending along the same, fifty-nine feet, three  
" inches, on the north west, partly by a lot of ground  
" belonging to John Greaves, and partly by the said  
" lot of ground belonging to Peter Burnett, extending  
" along the last mentioned lots of ground one hundred  
" and nine feet six inches ; and in the south east side,  
" partly by a lot of ground belonging to one John  
" Phillips, and partly by the Circus ground extending  
" along the said last mentioned lots of ground one  
" hundred and ninety feet six inches." By another



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

deed passed on the same day, a parcel of ground was sold and conveyed to the same persons by David Brunet. This land was bounded on the front, to the north west, by St. Helen Street, and on the south, by the property of Dr. Montgomery.

Father McMahon organized a committee of citizens to undertake the building of a Church, and in the month of October, 1831, the foundations of a building 146 feet by 65 feet were commenced. The corner stone was to have been laid on the 11th of June, 1832, but between the date of the announcement and this day, cholera made itself manifest in Quebec, and all public gatherings were prohibited by the authorities. The columns of the Mercury and of the Quebec Gazette, reveal the distressing condition of affairs in the city during this year. The corner stone was laid later in the season, without the usual ceremony. The building was sufficiently advanced in the summer of 1833 to admit of services being held, and on the 7th of July, the first Mass was sung in the new Church, by the Reverend Father Baillargeon. The sermon was preached on this occasion by the Reverend Father McMahon, and the Church was dedicated to St. Patrick by the Reverend Jerome Demers, in the absence of the Bishop. Three years after the galleries were added, and the interior decoration was completed.

In 1845 it was found that the Church was not sufficiently large for the increasing population, and more land was required for the purpose of the proposed enlargement and for other buildings in connection with

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the work of the Parish. The church was at this time lengthened by about 50 feet. A few years previous to this the Trustees had experienced some difficulty with the Corporation of the city regarding the proposed widening of certain streets, which, if carried out, would necessitate the expropriation of a certain portion of the Church property. The scheme was finally abandoned. The land required for the enlargement of the Church and for the other buildings, was sold and conveyed by Dame Henrietta Smith, widow of the late Honourable Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice of Lower Canada, to the Reverend Patrick McMahon, Chaplain of the Catholics of Quebec speaking the English language, and to John Patrick O'Meara and Joseph Power Bradley. The deed was passed before Wilbrod Larue, N.P., and the ground is thus described :

“ A lot of ground of seventy feet in breadth by  
“ ninety-seven feet or thereabouts, more or less, as it  
“ may be found in depth the whole English measure,  
“ situate in the Upper Town of the city of Quebec, in  
“ the rear of the emplacement and house belonging to  
“ the late François Nicholas Mailhiot or his represent-  
“ atives, in St. John street : the said lot of ground  
“ bounded towards the South by the rear line of the  
“ emplacement of the said François Nicholas Mailhiot  
“ or his representatives, towards the North by the  
“ rear or depth line of an emplacement which Peter  
“ Burnett, esquire, or his representatives possess on the  
“ Rue des Pauvres, towards the East by the heirs  
“ Eckhart or their representatives, and towards the  
“ West by the remaining ground belonging to Mr. John  
“ Phillips or his representatives, such as the ground

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“ now is lies and tends in all its parts, with a stone building thereon erected commonly called the Royal Circus or Theatre, together with a strip of ground on the Western side thereof of a triangular shape, five feet wide at the north west corner of the property above described, and from the outer extremity of the five feet running in a straight line, and terminating in a point within fifteen feet from the south-west corner.”

Until the year 1855, St. Patrick's was considered as a branch of the Parish Church, and not as an independent parish : but in that year a petition was addressed to the Legislature for an Act to incorporate “ The Congregation of the Catholics of Quebec speaking the English language ”. The petition set for that certain difficulties had arisen in connection with the administration of the Church property, and that incorporation was desirable. It was therefore enacted that :

“ The holders of pews in St. Patricks Church in the said city of Quebec. and those who shall hereafter be holders of Pews therein, together with such other persons as may under the by laws of the corporation hereby created, hereafter become members thereof, shall be and are hereby constituted a body corporate under the name of the Congregation of the Catholics of Quebec speaking the English language ”.

The petitioners were, W. Downes, J. P. O'Meara, Michael Connolly, T. Murphy, H. Murray, W. Power, J. Lane, E. G. Cannon, J. Sharples, C. McDonald, E. Ryan, Owen McNally, R. McGillis, Chas. Alleyn, J. J. Nesbitt, W. Quinn, J. Maguire, J. Doran, J. Archer, C. Sharples, H. O'Connor, Patrick McMahon, M.

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O'Leary, L. Stafford, M. Enright, M. Kelly, S. Bennett, E. Quinn, P. Shea, Wm. Mackay, J. Murray, J. Ellis, M. Mernagh, E. J. Charlton and J. O'Leary.

Authority was also given under the Act for the Congregation to hold land not exceeding twenty acres, for Burial grounds.

Father McGauran continued as Rector until 1874, since which date the Church has been under the charge of the Redemptorist Fathers. On the 29th of September, 1874, the Reverend Fathers Burke, Oates, Wynn and O'Connor, accompanied by the Very Reverend Father Provincial Helmptraecht, arrived in Quebec, and were "lodged in a truly generous and princely manner in the Archbishop's Palace." Four days after, on Saturday, the 3rd of October, the Redemptorist Fathers took up their abode in St. Patrick's Presbytery. On the evening of the 21st of October, 1874, the private Chapel and the Presbytery were blessed in the presence of several members of the Church Committee, including Messrs. Behan, Colfer and McDonald. The Superior, the Reverend Father Burke, C. SS. R., was the celebrant, assisted by the Reverend Fathers Oates, Wynn and O'Connor; and on the 25th of the same month, the first mission was given by the Redemptorist Fathers. Since the advent of this order in Quebec the Rectors have been.—1. The Reverend Father Burke; 2. The Reverend Father Henning; 3. The Reverend Father Burke; 4. The Reverend Father Hayden; 5. The Reverend Father Oates; 6. The Reverend Father Rosbach; 7. The Reverend Father Henning. The

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following members of the Order, are also attached to this Parish : The Reverend Father McCarthy ; The Reverend Father Rein ; The Reverend Father Delargy ; The Reverend Father Hickey ; The Reverend Father Gannon and The Reverend Father Gunning.

The interior decoration of the church has recently been restored in a very chaste manner, and in the dome of the Sanctuary there is an excellent painting by Mr. Charles Huot, representing the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. There are also a few good examples of stained glass in the windows. The Church is capable of seating about 1,600 people. In the presbytery are paintings of Father McMahon and Father Nelligan. Father McMahon died on the 3rd of October, 1851, and on the first anniversary of his death a marble tablet was uncovered on a pillar facing the pulpit. It bears this inscription :—

D. O. M.  
HIC JACET  
REV. PATRITIUS McMAHON  
HUIUS ECCLESIAE CONDITOR  
ET XXV FERME ANNIS  
CATHOLICORUM HIBERNICORUM  
QUEBECI DEAGENTIUM  
DILECTISSIMUS PASTOR.  
SINGULARI ORATIONIS PRÆDITUS  
RELIGIONIS HONORI SEMPER STUDENS  
COMMISSI GREGIS SALUTI  
ETIAM ADVERSA VALETUDINE  
CONSTANS INCUBUIT  
OBIT DIE TERTIA OCTOBRIS A.D. MDCCCLI  
LV ANNOS NATUS  
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

" Reverend Patrick McMahon, born at Abbeylix, Ireland, on the 24th of August, 1796 : he completed his classical course of studies in the Carlow College.

" In 1818 he arrived in Canada and was appointed one of the professors of the college at St. Hyacinthe, where he prosecuted his theological studies until his ordination as a priest by Mgr. Plessis, on the 6th of October, 1822, when he was attached as vicar to the curé of the parish of Notre Dame de Quebec.

" In 1825, he became missionary at St. John, New Brunswick.

" In 1828, he was recalled to resume the exercise of his ministry amongst the Irish people of the city of Quebec.

" In 1832, he presided over the construction of St. Patrick's Church, which was the principal work of his life.

" He died at St. Patrick's parsonage on the 3rd of October, 1851, aged 56 years.

" He was laid to rest in St. Patrick's Church where a tablet has been placed to commemorate his good work."

(Note by LUCIEN LEMIEUX.)

## CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DES VICTOIRES.

Amongst the churches in Quebec there is one of very modest appearance, situate in a somewhat retired spot, but the history of which recalls a multitude of glorious recollections for French Canadian arms. This is the Church of Notre Dame des Victories, founded two hundred and fifteen years ago.

On the first day of May, 1688, the corner stone was laid. The Governor was present at the ceremony

## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

at which Mgr. de Laval officiated. When Mgr. de St. Vallier arrived in Quebec on the first of August little progress had been made, and it was finished only in the following year. The Bishop had dedicated it to the Infant Jesus, and the small chapel seen on the left of the entrance was named the chapel of St. Geneviève.

When Phips besieged Quebec in 1690, the ladies of Quebec promised by a solemn vow to make a pilgrimage to the church in the Lower Town, if the Blessed Virgin obtained their deliverance. When the invader was compelled to withdraw without obtaining his object, the Bishop decided to change the name of the Church, and dedicated it to Notre Dame de la Victoire ; and ordained that a feast should be observed and a procession held in honour of the Virgin on the fourth Sunday of October in each year.

Twenty-one years later the title was changed after a fresh intervention of Providence, when the town was saved from another siege. In 1711 the English fleet commanded by Admiral Walker sailed to attack Quebec. A heavy fog covered the waters of the St. Lawrence, defying the skill of the pilot, and eight vessels were wrecked off Egg Island. The news of this disaster reached Quebec only at the beginning of October. It was received with great joy. The entire population proceeded to the Lower Town Church to pay their devotion to Our Lady of Victory for the delivery of the colony from ruin on a second occasion. The citizens raised a subscription to build a portal to the church and the religious authorities decided that

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

"Notre Dame de la Victoire" should give place to that of "Notre Dame des Victoires" to recall to future generations the favors of the Mother of God towards the French-Canadians.

The first pilgrimage to the church of Notre Dame des Victoires dates, therefore, from the year 1711. History is silent as to whether these pilgrimages were continued every year. Nevertheless, in 1855, Mgr. Baillargeon, administrator of the diocese of Quebec, formally established a pilgrimage to the church.

But a fresh misfortune was to fall on the colony. During the siege of 1759, the little church in the Lower Town shared the fate of a great many public and private buildings. On the 8th of August the whole of the Lower Town was in flames. Wolfe's shells spared nothing, and the church of Notre Dame des Victoires was completely destroyed. The walls of the venerable edifice alone remained ; and an appeal to public generosity was made to restore the church. Work was begun, and in 1765, divine service was celebrated in the new church as before. The annual festival in the month of October was regularly observed, as well as the festival of St. Geneviève.

In 1817, the citizens resolved to finish the interior. Mass was discontinued from the 13th of June, but service was resumed with the greatest punctuality after the repairs were completed. From time immemorial the devotion to St. Geneviève has attracted the faithful to the feet of that dear saint. Her feast is celebrated on the first Sunday following the 3rd of January. After



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

the *Gloria* has been chanted, the chaplain blesses small loaves of unleavened bread, destined for those who dread the pains of child birth. This custom is very ancient and has not fallen into disuse.

On the 23rd of May, 1888, the bi-centenary of the foundation of the church of Notre Dame des Victoires, His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau officiated at the ceremony in the presence of a large number of the clergy, and many distinguished citizens. A few months previously painters had decorated the interior with the most delicate taste. In the frieze of the wall on the Gospel side are the arms of His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau and of Jacques Cartier ; on the epistle side are the arms of Mgr. de Laval and of Champlain. On the panels are representations of the trophies taken from the English in the battle of Beauport in 1690, and of the wreckage of Walker's fleet. In the choir above the altar are the words *Kebeka Liberata*.

The city of Quebec, symbolized by a woman wearing a crown, is sitting on a rock at the foot of which the Indian spirit of the St. Lawrence empties his urn. A beaver is seen near the figure. At her feet are shields, cuirasses and standards bearing the arms of England. The subject is taken from a commemorative medal struck in the time of Louis XIV to perpetuate the memory of the French victories. At the back of the church, on the wall, letters in varied colours set forth the most striking facts that have illustrated the history of the church during the different stages of its existence.

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The reliquary on the Gospel side contains the bones of St. Lawrence, St. Bonifatius and of St. Victor, while the reliquary on the epistle side contains the bones of St. Aurelia, of St. Vincentius, St. Ireneus and of St. Probus. In the small towers on the main altar are relics of St. Charles Borromée and of St. Theophilus.

In this church are preserved two other relics for the veneration of the faithful : one of Ste. Geneviève and one of the true Cross. The latter is publicly venerated on good Friday and on All Souls' Day.

## FRANCISCAN CONVENT

The Order of the Soeurs Franciscaines Missionaries de Marie was founded in 1878. The Quebec convent is situated at the corner of Claire Fontaine street, close to the site of Abraham Martin's property after whom the Plains were named.

The French army was drawn upon this ground on the 13th of September, 1759, and it is therefore one of the most historic spots in the city.

The inception of this institution is due to the noble idea of the rehabilitation of infidel woman by the means of the christian woman. United to the Order of St. Francis, from which it derives its spiritual direction, the ordinary field of its labours is to be found in foreign missions.

The mother house is in Rome, and there is the Superior Council which directs the eighty establishments belonging to this congregation, scattered in almost every part of the world.



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The number of its nuns now reaches over four thousand.

The foundation of the Quebec Convent dates from 1893, and the Church and adjoining buildings were erected in 1897-98.

The interior of the church is exceedingly attractive. A new altar of Carrara marble and Mexican onyx has been completed lately.

The Quebec house is chiefly a novitiate where missionary nuns are trained for distant countries. In all the churches and chapels of the Franciscans, whenever it is possible, the Blessed Sacrament is exposed throughout the day. In Quebec, to comply with the wishes of the diocesan authority, the nuns adore the Blessed Sacrament day and night. The church, which is specially adapted for this, has become a centre of attraction for the catholics of the city and a place of pilgrimage for the faithful of the diocese, and of the whole province. The Quebec house has within a short time assumed considerable proportions, and a great future seems to be in store for it.

Recently there was an exhibition in the Convent of beautiful specimens of work executed by the nuns in different parts of the world.

The Rev. Abbé Paquet is the chaplain of the Convent.

## THE MONASTERY AND CHURCH OF THE RECOLLETS

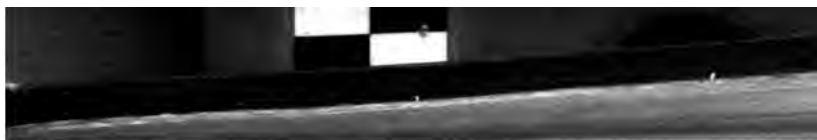
When Mgr. de Saint-Vallier founded the General Hospital in 1693 on the banks of the river St. Charles,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

the Recollets transferred their establishment to the nuns of the General Hospital, who installed themselves there while the friars lodged in the Convent of the Castle which they had built in 1681. On the 14th of July, 1693, they began to build their church, which Charlevoix says was worthy of Versailles. This church covered a space, the eastern and western boundaries of which would be about the centre of the upper portion of the Place d'Armes, and the south eastern extremity of the ground occupied by the Court House. The windows were filled with stained glass, and in the church were pictures painted by Brother Luke. The lines of the steeple were of remarkable purity. Both the monastery and the church were destroyed by fire on the 6th of September, 1796. The remains of four French Governors and of a great many of the most noted personages of the colony reposed in the church. At the cession the English government took possession of the monastery and church and used the latter for the services of the Anglican church. After the death of Father Felix de Berrey, the last representative of the Order, on the 18th May, 1800, the estates of the Recollets were escheated and the government took possession of the convent grounds to erect thereon the court house and offices for the district of Quebec. This building was finished in 1804.

## JACQUES CARTIER CHURCH

The building of this church was begun in the month of August, 1851. The new edifice was inaugur-



## CATHOLIC CHURCHES

ated as a chapel for members of the congregation of St. Roch on the 11th of September, 1853. Its dimensions were 116 feet by 60 feet. In 1865 the chapel was opened to the public and parochial services were celebrated therein on Sunday, for the benefit of those who could not find accommodation in the church of St. Roch. In 1875 the original chapel was enlarged to its present size.

In the month of August, 1901, the Congregation gave its chapel to the Archbishop of Quebec, who named it as the parochial church of Notre Dame de Jacques Cartier. The decree erecting this new parish is dated the 25th of September, 1901. The new curé took possession on the first Sunday of the same month. The parish is under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception and bears the name of Notre Dame de Jacques Cartier.

### THE CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DU CHEMIN

This church is situated on Ste. Foy road, about fifty yards from the turnpike, beside the Villa Manrese, occupied by the Jesuit Fathers in charge of the church. Its erection is due to the liberality of Chevalier Louis de Gonzague Baillargé and to the religious zeal of many citizens of Quebec. The Interior is very pretty : it contains several remarkable paintings and ten stained glass windows, representing ten saints of the Society of Jesus.

This church was inaugurated in the spring of 1895 amidst a great concourse of citizens and members of the clergy.

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### ST. SAUVEUR CHURCH

The foundation of this church dates back to over 50 years ago, but it was not erected into a Parish until the first of May, 1867, when its present name was given to it in memory of the first secular priest who arrived in Quebec in 1634, and became incumbent of St. Jean's Chapel on Saint Sauveur Hill.

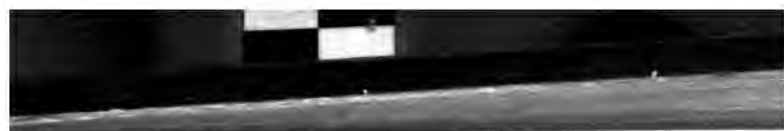
The first church was 170 feet long and 60 feet in width, and was destroyed by fire in October 1866. The construction of the present church was commenced early in the following year. Its interior decoration was entrusted to Mr. Charles Huot, artist of Quebec. The steeple which is one hundred feet in height, contains a fine peal of bells. A presbytery is attached to the church in which the Oblat fathers reside who have charge of the church.

### CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DE LOURDES

This church, or chapel, was constructed by the Oblat fathers in 1870. It was consecrated on the 8th of December, 1880.

In 1882 His Eminence, Cardinal Taschereau, recognized Notre Dame de Lourdes as the chapel of the third order of the Franciscains.









## CHAPTER XIV

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1804-1908

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### THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN QUEBEC

(By F. C. WURTELE)

CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY—THE CHAPELRIES  
—ST. MATHEW'S—TRINITY CHURCH—ST. PETER'S  
CHURCH — ST. PAUL'S CHURCH — ST. MICHAEL'S  
CHURCH—THE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—THE  
FEMALE ORPHAN ASYLUM — THE MALE ORPHAN  
ASYLUM—THE FINLAY ASYLUM—THE PROTESTANT  
BURIAL GROUND—LADIES' PROTESTANT HOME

**I**N order to make a sketch of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity at Quebec complete, a few words must be said about those Franciscan Friars called "Recollets," who were the former proprietors of the land on which the sacred edifice was built.

At the invitation of Samuel Champlain, Governor of Canada, the Recollets arrived at Tadoussac, from France on the 25th of May, 1615, reaching Quebec a few days later. Land was granted them on the banks

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

of the river St. Charles, where they built a convent called "Notre Dame des Anges," sufficiently strong to resist the attacks of the Iroquois Indians. On the 19th June, 1629, Quebec was captured by the brothers Kirke, and both Jesuits and Recollets were shipped back to France. At the restoration of Canada to France in 1632, the Jesuits returned, but the Recollets were not accorded that permission until 1670, when they arrived at Quebec on the 18th of August with M. Talon, the Intendant. They found their property in a most dilapidated condition, and at once set about rebuilding what is now the General Hospital. As Bishop St. Valier wished to institute this hospital, he purchased in 1692, the Recollet property on certain conditions, giving them in exchange a tract of land in the Upper Town of Quebec facing the Parade, at present called the Place D'Armes, comprising the whole square on which the Court House, Cathedral and other buildings now stand. There they erected their church and convent which, on the capitulation of Canada, September, 8, 1760, became a possession of the British Crown, but the few Friars that remained were permitted the use of their properties until the death of Père DeBerey, the last superior of the order in Canada.

The Friars generously allowed the Church of England to use their church, as is shown by the following notice in the Quebec Gazette of May 21, 1767 : " On Sunday next, Divine service, according to the use of the Church of England, will be at the Recollets' church and continue for the summer season, beginning

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN QUEBEC

soon after eleven. The drum will beat each Sunday soon after half an hour past ten, and the Recollets' bell will ring to give notice of the English service the instant their own is ended." The Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Charles Inglis, held his primary visitation at Quebec on August 5, 1789, in the Recollets' church, and on his leaving for Halifax the clergy of the Church of England in Canada, presented him an address. The convent and church were burnt on September 6, 1796, and the ruins were razed by order of the government; the chancel of the Cathedral stands on a portion of these ruins which extended under the roadway near the Court House. The Jesuit church was then used for divine service.

The first Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Quebec, Dr. Jacob Mountain, arrived from England November 1st, 1793, with his family, and accompanied by his brother, Rev. Jehoshaphat, and his son, Rev. Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain, who became at the death of the Rev. Philip Toosey in 1797, Rector of Quebec. At the solicitation of the Bishop, His Majesty George III, decided to build the Cathedral, and set apart a portion of the Recollet property for that purpose. On November 11th, 1799, he appointed a commission to carry out the undertaking, composed of the Lord Bishop, William Osgoode, Chief-Justice of Lower Canada, Sir George Pownall, Rev. Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain, and Jonathan Sewell the Attorney-General, with Matthew Bell Esq., as treasurer.

The corner-stone was laid by His Excellency, the

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Lieut. Governor, on November 3, 1800. At the consecration, August 28, 1804, the Bishop was presented with the Letters Patent of the whole property as it now stands, surrounded by a low stone wall, which is surmounted by an iron railing and closed with iron gates. The organ was imported from England in 1801, and its cost defrayed by a public subscription.

The Governor-General, his Grace the Duke of Richmond, died on the 28th August, 1819, and lies buried under the chancel of the Cathedral; a brass plate in the floor marks the spot where his Excellency is interred, and a marble tablet erected in the north gallery to his memory is the finest piece of workmanship of all the monuments on the walls of the church.

Letters Patent were issued by His Majesty George IV, on the 8th of September, 1821, erecting the Parish of Quebec, constituting the Cathedral the Parish Church till a Parish church would be built, but likewise maintaining intact its cathedral rights, and appointing the Bishop's son, Rev. George Jehoshaphat Mountain, D. D., Rector, and granting a piece of ground adjacent to the Cathedral "Close", on which are built the rectory "All Saints" chapel, and the "Church Hall."—Bishop Mountain died June 18th, 1825, aged 76 years, and lies buried within the chancel at the north side of the altar, where a mural monument is erected to his memory. The Honorable The Rev. Charles James Stewart, brother of the Earl of Galloway, and one of the clergy of the diocese, was consecrated Bishop of

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN QUEBEC

Quebec, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, on January 1st, 1826.

The Cathedral up to this time had no bells, but a subscription was raised and a chime of eight bells ordered ; the tenor weighs 1852 pounds and their total weight is 8,023 pounds. The chime arrived in the summer of 1830 and rang the first peal on the 20th of October, when Lord Aylmer was sworn in as Administrator of the Government of Lower Canada.

On the 14th of February, 1836, the venerable Archdeacon George Jehoshaphat Mountain was consecrated, at Lambeth, Bishop of Montreal without any see or jurisdiction, but simply to assist Bishop Stewart, who appointed him Coadjutor. Bishop Stewart died in London in July 1837, and a fine marble tablet was erected to his memory by the congregation and placed on the south wall of the chancel inside the communion rails. Bishop Mountain took charge of the diocese, retaining the Rectorship of the parish, and appointed the Rev. George Mackie his " Official " and Curate of the Cathedral. In October 1846, a new organ was imported from England and the old one sold to the Roman Catholic church at Lotbinière, where it is still in use.

The Diocese was on July 18th, 1850, divided into that of Montreal and Quebec, and Rev. Dr. Fulford was consecrated at Westminster Abbey, Lord Bishop of Montreal, when new Letters Patent were issued, appointing Bishop Mountain to the see of Quebec. In 1858 the Rev. Dr. Mackie retired and was succeeded by

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Rev. George Vernon Houseman. Bishop Mountain died on January 6, 1863, and the churchmen of the diocese placed to his memory the beautiful memorial window in the chancel of the Cathedral. It is in three parts, the centre representing the Ascension, and the two side portions the Baptism and Transfiguration of our Lord, at the base is inscribed : " To the glory of God and in grateful remembrance of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, D.D., some time Bishop of this diocese, whom the Grace of Christ enabled to fulfil the duties of a long ministry to the advancement of his Church and the lasting benefit of many souls. O.B. MDCCCLXIII. ÆT. LXXIII." The Rev. G. V. Houseman was then appointed Rector of Quebec. A special meeting of the Diocesan Synod was called for the 4th of March, 1863, at which the Rev. James William Williams, M.A., Professor of Belles-Lettres in the University of Bishops' College, Lennoxville, was elected Bishop. Her Majesty Queen Victoria's mandate arrived on the 16th of June, and he was consecrated by the Metropolitan, Bishop of Quebec, on the 21st of that month in the Cathedral.

When Her Majesty's Sixty-ninth regiment returned from repelling the Fenian Invasion on the Huntingdon county frontier, His Royal Highness Prince Arthur presented a new stand of colors to the regiment on June 21, 1870, and the old colors were the next day deposited in the Cathedral with the usual ceremonies. A new organ costing \$5,000 was presented to the church in 1881 by the late Hon. R. R. Dobell and T. Beckett, Esq.

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN QUEBEC

The Rev. G. V. Houseman, M. A., died September 26, 1887, and the Rev. R. W. Norman, D. D., Canon of Montreal, was appointed Rector of Quebec, and inducted in the Cathedral on March 18, 1888. In June, 1888, the Synod created the capitular body of the Cathedral.

Bishop Williams died April 20, 1892. The Rev. Andrew Hunter Dunn, M. A., Vicar of All Saints, South Acton, in London, England, was chosen to succeed him. He was consecrated at Montreal Bishop of Quebec, and on September 23th, 1892, was installed with the usual impressive ceremony.

The authorised clergymen of the Parish of Quebec, were the :—Rev. J. Brooke in 1760. Rev. David Francis DeMontmollin in 1768. Rev. Philip Toosey in 1785, who was appointed Rector by Bishop Inglis in 1789. Rev. Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain constituted Rector by Letters Patent of 8th September, 1797, who was succeeded in 1816 by Rev. George Jehoshaphat Mountain, by Letters Patent of 8th September, 1821, and retained the Rectorship after being consecrated Bishop of Quebec. Rev. George Vernon Houseman in 1863. Very Rev. R. W. Norman, D.D. Dean of the Diocese in 1887, and the present Rector Very Rev. Dean Lennox W. Williams, D.D. in 1899.

The exterior of the Cathedral is much the same as it always was, a substantial, plain, rectangular stone edifice, standing in the centre of a well kept "Close," surrounded by those fine old trees which add beauty to the environment and remind Englishmen of the

### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

On the 27th June, 1766, General James Murray, the Governor of Canada, gave, in the King's name, a communion service, consisting of a large silver paten and chalice engraved with the King's Arms, to the Episcopal Parish, of Quebec, whenever it would be established, and it is still in use in the Cathedral.

A prominent event in the annals of the diocese was the celebration of its centenary on the 1st June, 1893, in the Cathedral. This was participated in by the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Ontario, the Bishops of New York, Nova Scotia, Niagara and Quebec and a large number of the clergy. An eloquent sermon by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Potter, Bishop of New York, and impressive music by an augmented choir (the surpliced choir then reestablished after forty years disuetude,) were noteworthy features of the service.

Many historic services have been celebrated in this Cathedral, prominent among which were the church parades of the 2nd battalion of the Royal Canadian Infantry on Sunday, 29th October, 1899, and that of the Mounted Rifles and Field Artillery on 14th January, 1900, before they severally embarked for the war in South Africa, where they manfully upheld the honor of the British Empire and good name of Canada.

On the 2nd February, 1901, an official memorial service was held in the Cathedral at the hour of the burial of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, at which were present the Mayor and Aldermen, the Judges and Bar of Quebec, members of the Provincial Govern-



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ment, the Military, and representatives of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

On the 20th June, 1902, the day on which His Majesty King Edward VII was to have been crowned, an intercessory service for his recovery from serious illness, was held in the church, and on the 9th August his coronation was celebrated by an official service in the Cathedral attended by the whole Garrison of Quebec, His Excellency Lord Minto, the Governor-General, and His Honor Sir Louis Jetté, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, with their staffs, all in full uniform. The only church decorations were the Royal standard and other British flags draped round the altar. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Dumoulin, of Niagara, officiated at the communion service, and in place of a sermon, read from the chancel the King's Proclamation.

The centenary of the Cathedral will doubtless be celebrated with all due ceremony on the 28th August, 1904.

### **THE CHAPELRIES**

The church of England had rapidly increased in Quebec and its members were scattered all over the city, moreover the Cathedral began to be inconveniently crowded, so much so that it was found desirable to establish chapels in different parts of the Parish according as locations could be obtained ; these chapels were appendages of the Cathedral and under the control of its Rector and Church-wardens, except that of the Holy Trinity which was an independent one.

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The chapels of St. Matthew, St. Peter and St. Michael in 1875, and that of St. Paul 1888, were by Canon of the Synod of the Diocese of Quebec constituted Churches, their districts Parishes and their incumbents Rectors. But Trinity being a proprietary church came under a separate Canon.

### ST. MATTHEW'S

St. Matthew's Church in its present form is of recent date, but its existence dates back to 1822 when the Archdeacon, Dr. George Jehoshaphat Mountain, instituted Sunday evening services in a large room in the house of Mr. Rickaby, the Sexton of the Protestant Burying Ground, St. John Street; the congregation grew so rapidly that the sexton's domain was invaded and other quarters were obtained for him.

In 1827 the building was given an ecclesiastical appearance by arching the windows, erecting a belfry with a small bell therein and fitting out the whole interior for divine service, and in 1830 it was further enlarged by the addition of a transept.

On the 28th June, 1845, St. John's suburbs was destroyed by fire and the Chapel fell a prey to the flames; but funds were raised and on the 25th July, 1848, the corner stone was laid by Bishop Mountain, of a neat stone building, which was opened for service on 29th April, 1849. Hitherto St. Matthew's was a chapel of the Cathedral and was served by the clergy of the Parish of Quebec under the particular care of its curate the Rev. Armine W. Mountain, but in 1855,



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after he became the incumbent of St. Michael's, it became a separate chapel with the present district attached ; and on the 1st February it was placed in the sole charge of the Rev. Henry Roe, now Archdeacon of the Diocese, who in January, 1868, was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Hamilton, M.A., who had been his assistant since 1865, under whose pastoral care it continued for seventeen years when he was on the 1st May, 1885, consecrated Bishop of Niagara, and subsequently translated Bishop of Ottawa. The next Rector was the Rev. F. J. B. Alnatt, D.D., and in 1887 he was succeeded by the Rev. Lennox W. Williams, M.A., who resigned the charge on being installed at the Cathedral, on 26th May, 1899, Dean and Rector of Quebec, when the present Rector the Rev. F. G. Scott was appointed.

A special plan for enlarging and embellishing the church had been drawn out, the work to be carried on as the funds permitted. The building as it now stands was commenced in 1870, by the erection of the chancel and transepts, the corner stone of which was laid on the 2nd June, in which were placed the mementos of that of 1848, including a piece of the original bell found among the debris after the fire.

In 1875 the old portion of the church was pulled down, and the nave, south aisle and vestries erected ; the spire which completed the specification was finished in 1882 and received its chime of eight bells in 1888, but the old bell of 1849 still does duty on the roof at the western gable.

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In 1875, by a canon of the Diocesan Synod, St. Matthew's Chapel was constituted a Church and its district a Parish.

A debt of \$3,000 had to be incurred by the building, of what may be called, the new church, which was paid off in 1892, and the edifice was consecrated by the Bishop of Quebec on the 1st March of that year. A new and enlarged chancel was erected in 1901 by the Hamilton family and the new organ chamber by the congregation, as a memorial of the late Robert Hamilton, D.C.L., and were consecrated by the Bishop of Quebec on Sunday 13th October of that year, when the Rev. Harold F. Hamilton, M.A., son of the Bishop of Ottawa was ordained priest ; which double ceremony was rendered most interesting, because the occasion offered to gather together all the rectors of St. Matthew's from the beginning, who each took some part in the services.

The church is now one of the handsomest buildings exteriorally and interiorally in the country : it contains many beautiful memorials of deceased members of the congregation, such as the marble pulpit, a splendid work of sculpture, erected by the late Robert Hamilton in memory of his son the Rev. George Hamilton, M.A. ; the marble altar was erected to the memory of Judge Irvine, and the reredos is a gift in memory of William Evans Price of Wolfesfield, and among the many exquisite stained glass windows is one erected by the congregation in 1866 in the old church, to its founder Bishop George Jehoshaphat Mountain.



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The font and baptistry were erected near the western entrance, by the congregation, in memory of the Right Reverend James William Williams, fourth Bishop of Quebec, and were consecrated on the 21st February, 1895.

Among the mural tablets are two fine brasses to the memory of brave Canadian soldiers, members of St. Matthew's, who gave their lives in defence of the Empire on the battle-fields of South Africa, Private Hector MacQueen, who was killed at Paardeberg on the 18th February, 1900, and Major J. H. C. Ogilvy, D. S. O., who died on the 19th December, 1901, from wounds received the previous day at Klipgat.

In 1872 the Parish building was erected at the corner of St. Augustin and D'Aiguillon streets, within a stone's throw of the Church, and is used by the several parish organizations and the Sunday School. The Burial ground, part of which forms the site of the church, is the property of Trustees, but by agreement is cared for by St. Matthew's Parish. The building thereon erected, the first St. Matthew's Chapel, was secured to the Church of England, and in 1868, the Provincial Government granted to the authorities of St. Matthew's the right of appropriating so much of the ground as might be needed for enlarging the edifice.

### TRINITY CHURCH

Trinity Church in St. Stanislas street in the Upper Town, was built as a "Chapel of Ease," to the Cath-

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dral by Chief Justice Jonathon Sewell, at a cost of \$16,000, and the corner stone was privately laid in the north east angle on the 16th September, 1824. The edifice is built of cut stone and is of Doric architecture, and with the galleries will seat 600 persons. On the walls of the church are five marble monuments, one of which is an especially fine work of art to the memory of its founder Chief Justice Sewell, and a beautiful stained glass window has recently been erected in the east end of the chancel to his son the Rev. E. W. Sewell. The large marble font was originally imported from England in 1831 for the Cathedral where it was in use until 1902, when it was presented to Trinity Church by the Vestry on the erection of one to the memory of the late R. H. Smith, Esq.

At the death of the Chief Justice in 1839, Trinity became the property of his son the Rev. E. W. Sewell, who had been admitted to the diaconate on 11th May, 1824, by Bishop Jacob Mountain, and on the chapel being opened for service on the 27th November, 1825, became its pastor who, on 27th December, 1827, was ordained priest by Bishop Stewart. For forty-three years he had faithfully ministered to his congregation, until advancing years compelled a rest from active service, and to his death on 24th October, 1890, at the advanced age of 91 years, always took a lively interest in the affairs of the Church.

The Rev. Mr. Sewell generally had an assistant styled the "Evening Lecturer," and from 1846 to 1855 the position was held by a German clergyman of the

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Church Missionary Society the Rev. C. L. F. Haensel, who came to Quebec in 1840, having served several years at Sierra Leone on the West coast of Africa, where he opened the Christian institution at Fourah Bay. In 1822 H. M. S. Myrmidon rescued from a Portuguese slaver among others, a negro boy called Adjai, who was placed by Capt. Sir Henry Leeke in charge of the Missionary at Sierra Leone, later he was baptised Samuel Adjai Crowther, and when Mr. Haensel opened the Christian Institution in 1827 he became its first student, eventually becoming the Rev. S. A. Crowther, D.D., and in 1854 was consecrated Bishop of the Niger Territory.

Mr. Haensel left Quebec in 1855 for Ontario, and in 1869 went to reside in St. John, New Brunswick, where he died on 13th January, 1876, aged 80 years.

In 1868 the chapel was leased for ten years to the British Government for a "Garrison Chapel," and at the withdrawal of the Imperial troops in 1872, the building virtually was closed to the expiration of the lease. But during that period it was permitted to be used by the Port-Chaplain, the Rev. J. S. Sykes, who in a measure succeeded in gathering together many of the former congregation which had become scattered over the Parish; at the expiration of the lease in 1878, his successor was the Rev. R. W. B. Webster and on his retiring, the Rev. E. W. Sewell nominated the Rev. Robert Kerr, who was licensed as curate by the Bishop.

On the 30th June, 1881, the congregation was incorporated by the Provincial Government as "The

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Congregation of 'Trinity Church, Quebec,' (Vic. 44-45., chap. 47.) and the next year purchased the property.

The Rev. R. Kerr remained in charge until 1885, when he was succeeded by the Rev. A. Bareham, and on his resigning, the Rev. W. T. Noble took charge until 1896, when he was succeeded by the Rev. E. J. Etherington, who at Easter 1903, was called to Hamilton, Ontario, and the Rev. B. Watkin's M. A., was appointed Rector.

## ST. PETER'S CHURCH

The origin of St. Peter's Church dates back to the year 1833. In December of that year the Rector and Church-Wardens of the Cathedral purchased from Mr. George Pozer a two story stone building on Church street, and converted the upper story into a temporary chapel for the use of the members of the Church of England residing in St. Rochs; the lower story being used as a Male Orphan Asylum.

The first curate was the Rev. W. Anderson, who, whilst honorary Canon of the Cathedral in Montreal, died at the age of 90 years on 3rd March 1891. This building being found no longer serviceable or suitable, was abandoned in 1842, and steps were taken to erect a building worthier of its sacred purpose. A site (the present one) on St. Valier street, at the foot of the St. Augustine street steps, was purchased from Mr. Isaac Dorion by two members of the congregation, Messrs.

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William Brown and Robert Ward, who also contracted for the erection of the proposed building. The corner stone was laid on 25th July 1842, and the new building consecrated on the 20th October of the same year by Bishop G. J. Mountain. The Rev. W. Chaderton, who had succeeded Mr. Anderson in 1836, was curate at this date. The terrible fire of 28th May 1845, which devastated the whole of St. Rochs, left St. Peter's Chapel a charred ruin, and many of the members thereof homeless. Undaunted by this heavy blow the little congregation took immediate steps to repair the House of God, and their brave efforts found many and generous friends ready to help them ; the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge donating £100 stg. towards the object. The new building was consecrated on Sunday 20th September 1846. The following year is memorable as the year of the ship-fever, when vast numbers of immigrants, for the most part Irish, fell victims to the disease both at the Quarantine Station and in the Marine Hospital at Quebec. Bishop Mountain and the clergy of the city, notably Mr. Chaderton, were unremitting in their attendance upon the afflicted. St. Peter's Parish register for that year contains the record of 373 interments ; the burial service in no less than 48 cases having been taken by the Lord Bishop in person. Mr. Chaderton, a man of marked devoutness and self-abnegation, whilst in the discharge of his sacred office contracted the disease and died therefrom on the 15th July. A mural tablet on the chancel wall of St. Peter's bears witness to the love in which he

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was held by his congregation. The Reverend R. G. Plees succeeded Mr. Chaderton as curate : and, on his appointment to the incumbency of St. Paul's in 1851, was followed by the Rev. Gilbert Percy D. D. who remained in charge for five years. In 1856 the Rev. Septimus Jones was appointed curate, but served only until 1858 when he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Hamilton, the present Bishop of Ottawa. For the first four years of his curacy Mr. Hamilton had as a co-worker, the Rev. H. J. Petry. The English residents of St. Rochs, Hedleyville and other suburban points were far more numerous at that date than at present. In 1864 Mr. Hamilton resigned to assume charge of St. Matthew's and was succeeded at St. Peter's by the Rev. M. M. Fothergill. Prior to 1875 St. Peter's was a chapel in connection with the Cathedral, but in that year a Canon of the Diocesan Synod constituted it a Church and its district the Parish of St. Peter's. After a service of twenty-five years Mr. Fothergill resigned and removed from the Diocese, and was succeeded in 1888, by the Rev. Canon A. J. Balfour, M. A., the present Rector.

A memorial, in the shape of a reredos, has been erected in St. Peter's commemorative of the services of Mr. Fothergill, who died at Toronto on the 29th of October 1902.

### ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

Many members of the Church of England resided in Champlain Street, commonly known as the "Coves,"

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and a number of Protestants were found among the seamen on the numerous vessels arriving in the Port of Quebec, so the Archdeacon held services in the moulder's loft of Mr. Black's shipyard and later in Mr. Munn's store ; hence he and the Cathedral authorities applied for and obtained from the Government a site under Cape Diamond where they erected the Mariner's Chapel, which was consecrated by Bishop Stewart on the 3rd June, 1832, naming it St. Paul's.

In 1888 by a Canon of the Diocesan Synod the Chapel was constituted a church and its district a parish.

The church is a neat wooden building with stone foundations, and can seat 200 persons. It contains several mementos of bygone times ; the font is the original one placed in the Cathedral in 1804, and the Royal Arms over the door formerly graced the front of the Governor-General's pew, and the pulpit was one of the old reading desks of the Cathedral.

But the marble top of the Communion Table is peculiarly interesting, as it formerly belonged to the old Jesuit Church ; after the destruction of the Recollet Church by fire in 1796, this church was used by the Church of England, and before its demolition in 1807, the Government it appears gave this slab to the Bishop, but in what capacity it had been originally used is not on record. However, in 1818, there was some correspondence over it between the Archdeacon and the Rev. N. Dufresne, S.J., which satisfied the latter as to the Bishop's right to the slab.

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The Archdeacon and Cathedral clergy conducted the services of St. Paul's until 1833, when the Rev. Joseph Brown was appointed the first incumbent and was succeeded in 1841 by the Rev. R. R. Burrage, and the next year the Rev. W. W. Wait took charge to 1843, after whom the duties were performed by the Rev. S. Bancroft, Woolryche, Torrance and E. C. Parkin, till the Rev. J. F. L. Simpson was appointed in 1844, and remained till 1849, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Gilbert Percy, and in 1851 the Rev. R. G. Plees was the incumbent and ministered to St. Paul's until his death on 19th June, 1872.

The Rev. Mr. Mitchell was then appointed Rector and was succeeded in May, 1877, by the Rev. Thomas Richardson, who in 1888, was created a Canon of the Cathedral; failing health and advancing years compelled Canon Richardson to retire in 1894, when he was presented by the congregation with an address and a substantial token of their appreciation of his seventeen years ministration at St. Paul's. He died on 28th of April 1903, and the funeral cortege proceeded to the Cathedral from the Bishop's residence.

The curate the Rev. E. A. Dunn was left in charge, and on the 10th November, 1895, was inducted Rector, which position he filled till his appointment to the chair of Pastoral theology at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, in August 1901, when he was succeeded by the present Rector, the Rev. H. R. Bigg.

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### ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

The increasing number of Church of England folk on the St. Louis, St. Foy and Sillery Roads caused the erection of St. Michael's Chapel.

Mrs. Mary Orkney, wife of Dr. Joseph Morrin, M.D., had inherited from her former husband Frost Ralph Gray, Esq., a large tract of land in the Fief St. Michael, and gave to the Bishop a site on the St. Louis Road on which to build a chapel ; hence a subscription was raised and building operations begun in 1854, and the chapel was consecrated on the 16th September, 1856, by Bishop Mountain and named St. Michael's.

It is a picturesque edifice of Gothic architecture, resembling the country churches of old England, built of Cap Rouge stone and situated on the north side of the road opposite to the main gate of Mount Hermon Cemetery.

The interior is very neat and pretty with its high pitched roof, and arches of varnished oak, of which material all the pews and wood-work are made. The chancel was built by Bishop Mountain and his family as a memorial of his son, Lieutenant Jacob George Mountain, of H.M. 26th Regiment, and all the appurtenances of the church are memorial gifts : The marble font was erected by the Rev. George Mackie, D.D., in memory of his brother Major W. C. M. Mackie ; the pulpit is a memorial of Lady Elizabeth Boxer, and the brass eagle lectern of Charles E. Levey, Esq. The Hon. E. J. Price gave the bell and chancel screen as

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memorials to his brothers Hon. David and William. The reredos was erected by the Misses Price in memory of their brother, the late Senator Hon. Evan J. Price. The windows are all memorials to members of the families Mountain, Price, Boxer, Fisher and others. A fine brass plate on the wall in the chancel is inscribed to the memory of the Rev. Armine Wale Mountain, the first Rector of St. Michael's and a brass plate records the death of his father, the Reverend George Jehoshaphat Mountain, third Bishop of Quebec.

The organ was purchased from subscriptions raised in England by the late Charles E. Levey, Esq.

This Chapel was opened for Divine service on the 24th December, 1854, by the Rev. Armine W. Mountain, who for fifteen years ministered to the congregation of St. Michael's, when he resigned, in 1869, to reside in England.

In 1875, the Chapel was, by a Canon of the Diocesan Synod, constituted a Church, and the district attached to it the Parish of St. Michael's.

The Present Rector, the Rev. A. A. Von Iffland, M. A., D. C. L., was the immediate successor of Mr. Mountain, and, in 1888, was created a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Quebec.

The Rectory is a substantial stone house, built in 1860, upon land given by the late Bishop George Jehoshaphat Mountain, and is the property of the Church.

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A short distance from the church is St. Michael's School-house, erected in 1865, by the Rev. A. W. Mountain and his sisters, in memory of the late Bishop, their father.

## THE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

The Charitable Institutions connected with the Church of England in Quebec are the Male and Female Orphan, and the Finlay Asylums, also the National Schools when they existed.

The National Schools were started by the old Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge when it established a branch at Quebec, and opened their schools in the Hope Gate Guard House in November 1819; subsequently a site was obtained from the Government on D'Auteuil street hill where the present building was erected in 1823. The schools were carried on until 1883, when their conduct was by agreement undertaken by the Protestant Board of School Commissioners, but the building remained the property of the Church, and was used by the Cathedral and St. Matthew's Sunday schools until the Church Hall, and St. Matthew's Parish Room were built; at present it is occupied by the offices of the Inspector of Superior Education, and several Fraternal Associations.

The Quebec Asylum was instituted in 1821, in a house on the Little River Road known as La Maison Rouge, which was found to be inconveniently situated, being too far from town; so the house was sold in 1826 and the children placed in charge of Mr. Rickaby the

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Sexton of the Protestant Burying ground St. John street, and the adults were lodged with sundry persons and given pensions. This disorganization continued for two years, till in 1828, the Ladies' Committee of the female department of the National Schools organized the Female Orphan Asylum, and established it in the upper story of the National School building in March 1829.

### THE FEMALE ORPHAN ASYLUM

The Female Orphan Asylum was incorporated on the 18th May 1861 (24 Victoria Cap. 113) under the name of "The Church of England Female Orphan Asylum of the City of Quebec," and on the opening of the Finlay Asylum in 1862, the inmates were removed to that building, occupying the western end until their present building was purchased.

Surgeon Blatherwick and the officers of the Imperial troops then garrisoning Quebec, established the Military Asylum for soldier's widows and orphans, and erected for their comfort that substantial stone building on the south side of Grande Allée near the Martello tower.

The Imperial garrison was removed from Quebec in 1871, and in 1873, the property was purchased by the Ladies of the Female Orphan Asylum who also undertook the care of its military occupants.

The Institution is in charge of a matron, and is admirably managed by a committee of twelve ladies, who in rotation supervise each month its interior

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economy, and are assisted by an advisory committee of four gentlemen. The present officers are Mrs. Dunn, president, Mrs. Colin Sewell, secretary and Mrs. Edward L. Sewell the treasurer.

## THE MALE ORPHAN ASYLUM

The Quebec Male Orphan Asylum was founded in 1832, when cholera was epidemic in the City and Provinces, and to alleviate distress, the Rector and Church-wardens of the Cathedral called a meeting by advertisement in the Quebec Gazette of 6th July of that year, for :—" The purpose of taking into consideration the cases of some forty orphans, and also a number of distressed subjects actually thrown upon the charge of the Church by the effect of the visitation from the hand of God which has been upon the City."

The original records of the meeting are not extant, but immediate action was taken, and a house rented for the purpose, till in 1834 a stone house was purchased in Rue de l'Eglise St. Rochs, whose second story was fitted up for divine worship and the lower one for the male orphans. In 1842 the building was condemned and the boys were installed in the National School, a part of which house had been fitted up for them.

On the 27th May, 1857, the Institution was incorporated under the name of " The Managers of the Church of England Male Orphan Asylum of Quebec," the corporation being the Rector and Chnrch-wardens of the Parish of Quebec.

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In 1862 the Finlay Asylum was opened in that commodious building on the St. Foy Road and the eastern wing was leased to the Male Orphan Asylum, and the children removed thither.

The interior affairs of the M. O. Asylum are supervised by a committee of twelve ladies, approved by the corporation ; each lady takes in rotation the duty of visitor for the month, and the retiring visitor presides at the meetings of the succeeding month.

## THE FINLAY ASYLUM

After the sale of La Maison Rouge in 1826 and the old men pensioned off and scattered all over the Parish in lodgings, the Quebec Asylum became extinct. This sad state of affairs continued for many years, and although some efforts were made to improve the condition of these old people, nothing of a permanent nature was accomplished till 1854, when one of the churchwardens of the Cathedral, William G. Wurtele, Esq., rented a house in Lachevrotière street and gathered the Parish pensioners of both sexes therein with a matron in charge. This establishment was removed to Sutherland street and subsequently the house was purchased with money bequeathed by Miss Margaret Finlay, which legacy was supplemented by a further sum, and on the 10th May, 1857, the Institution was incorporated by the Rector and Churchwardens of the Cathedral, the Rt. Rev. George Jehoshaphat Mountain, and Messrs. W. G. Wurtele and Edward Poston, under the name of "The Finlay Asylum of Quebec."



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The following year the Bishop received several large donations which enabled the corporation to purchase a lot of ground on the north side of the St. Foy Road about three hundred yards outside the city limits, from the heirs Tourangeau, and to erect thereon that fine building, the corner stone of which was laid by the late Mrs. Robert Hamilton on the 10th May, 1860. The formal opening of the building took place on the 2nd August, 1862, that being the 50th anniversary of the Bishop's ministration in the Diocese of Quebec, and was celebrated in the Asylum by a special service prepared by his Lordship.

The asylum is of Gothic architecture, built of Cap Rouge stone dressing and plinths, with variegated arches over each aperture ; it is about 110 feet long by 55 feet wide, two stories high with basement and attic. The system adopted in the Finlay is that of small wards containing from three to six persons, and every possible liberty is given to these old people. The chapel is in the centre of the building with four rooms opening off from it, so that very infirm persons and those confined to bed can, without leaving their rooms, join in the service which is held every morning.

The management is under the control of the wardens of the Cathedral assisted by a committee of twelve ladies chosen throughout the parishes of the city.

All these Institutions are maintained by revenues from endowments, anual subscriptions, donations and small Government grants ; the late Quebec Provident and Savings Bank annually divided some of its profits

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among all the charities of Quebec, and on transferring its business to the Union Bank of Canada in March 1872, likewise divided the balance giving \$10,000 each, to the Finlay and Male Orphan Asylums, and \$3,800 to the Female Orphans, which was a great assistance to them all, but the revenues are still inadequate.

### THE PROTESTANT BURIAL GROUND ST. JOHN STREET

According to the obituary notices in the Quebec Gazette, the mortal remains of Protestants were interred in divers places in Quebec ; some in the St. Joseph Cemetery, situated between the Seminary and the French Cathedral ; others on the south side of that edifice, as proved by the memorial on the western wall of the Presbytery, removed to that position when the wall on Buade street was lowered :—

IN MEMORY OF  
MARY,  
WIFE OF THOMAS AINSLIE, ESQ.,  
COLLECTOR OF HIS MAJESTY'S CUSTOMS OF QUEBEC  
WHO DIED MARCH 14TH, 1767  
AGED 25 YEARS.

If virtue's charms had power to save  
Her faithful vot'ries from the grave  
With beauty's e'vry form supplied  
The lovely Ainslie ne'er had died.

The gorge of the St. Louis Bastion was also used as a burial ground, where among others, the Continental General Richard Montgomery, who was killed when

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assaulting the Pres-de-Ville barricade on the early morning of the 31st December, 1775, was there interred on the 4th January, 1776, the military chaplain Rev. F. De Montmollin reading the burial service. The General's remains were exhumed in 1818 by permission of the Governor General and interred in New York with great ceremony.

On the 19th December, 1771, Demoiselle Angelique Denis de St. Denis and her family, (heirs of the late M. St. Simon) sold a lot of land on St. John Street M. St. Simon had purchased from the nuns of the Hotel Dieu, to Thomas Dunn, who on 29th March, 1778 sold it to the Government, which also purchased another portion of the property from the heirs St. Simon on 22nd August, 1778, and the balance on 4th July, 1780.

These lots were bounded on the north by St. John Street, on the south by St. Gabriel Street, on the east by St. Augustin Street, and on the west by the garden of Justice Kerr, representing the heirs St. Simon, the whole surrounded by a stone wall, and appears to have been used for a cemetery ; to secure which in perpetuity, the Protestant Community petitioned the Government, and on 19th August, 1833, His Majesty George IV, issued letters patent granting the property to the Trustees of the Protestant Burying ground :—Dr. G. J. Mountain the Archdeacon and Rector of Quebec, Messrs Francis Coulson and William Morrison, Church-Wardens of the Parish of Quebec, and Andrew William Cochrane, and his successors to be nominated by the Rector. The Rev. Dr. Mills Chaplain of the Forces,

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Rev. J. Archbold assistant minister of the Cathedral and Rev. James Harkness minister and John Neilson, Andrew Patterson, James Ross and Thomas White Trustees of the Church of Scotland

There was a building on it used for the Burial services of both Churches and sexton's residence, but the Church of England had the paramount right in the building and appointment of the sexton, but the Church of Scotland might put up another building on the grounds and appoint a sexton to it should they deem it necessary.

On the 16th December, 1844, the Rector, with the Rev. John Cook, L.L.D., Messrs. H. Jessop, Thomas Cary, A. Simpson and A. Patterson purchased from Dr. Nault, whose wife was a Miss Durette, the additional ground outside the stone wall, (which was removed,) and added it to the burying ground, so that the property extended to St. Genevieve street on the west, but did not include the corner lot and stone house on St. John street, now owned by D. S. Rickaby, Esq.

After the fire, in 1845, St. John street was widened, the city paying £423 17s. 6d. for the ground and £420 to rebuild the stone wall on the line of the street.

For sanitary reasons, the Government, at the petition of the City Council, by Act of Parliament on the 19th May, 1860, closed the burial ground and prohibited, under penalty, all further interment; hence the place was neglected and became a disgrace to the city, there being so many parties concerned it seemed to be nobody's business to keep the grounds in order;

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN QUEBEC

but in 1875 St. Matthew's Congregation appointed a committee to take what steps would be advisable to put the burial ground in order ; but the appeal made to friends and relatives of those interred there did not meet with much success, so the small amount received was expended to the best advantage.

For thirteen years nothing further was done and the place lapsed into delapidation and became overgrown with weeds and rubbish till in 1888, when St. Matthew's Congregation undertook to care for the grounds provided the Trustees put them in proper order. An appeal was made to the Protestant public and sufficient means were raised to accomplish the work so the burying ground is now well kept and worth a visit to recall the names of Quebec's respected citizens as written on the old tombstones.

It may here be interesting to relate some of the inscriptions :—

At the western end of the church, near the gate, rest the mortal remains of a brother of Sir Walter Scott, the celebrated novelist :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
THOMAS SCOTT ESQUIRE  
LATE PAYMASTER OF THE 70th REGIMENT  
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE 4TH FEBRUARY 1823.  
AND HIS DAUGHTER BARBARA SCOTT  
WHO DIED ON THE 5TH OCTOBER 1821  
IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF HER AGE.

**QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
THOS. CARY, SENIOR,  
FIRST EDITOR OF THE  
QUEBEC MERCURY  
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE  
29TH JANUARY 1832.

---

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
REV. WM. CHADERTON  
AN EXEMPLARY PASTOR  
AND A DEVOTED SERVANT OF CHRIST,  
WHO DIED  
OF TYPHUS FEVER CONTRACTED  
IN THE ZEALOUS DISCHARGE  
OF HIS SACRED CALLING, 15TH AUGUST 1857.  
HIS BEREAVED WIDOW ERECTS THIS STONE  
AS A FEEBLE TESTIMONY  
OF HER DEEP VENERATION  
FOR THE DEPARTED.

---

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
THE LATE HON. H. W. RYLAND  
A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.  
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE  
20TH JULY 1838 IN HIS 79TH YEAR.

---

Here is a double inscription on a stone erected by  
veterans of the campaign of 1759 to a brother officer.

“CI-GIT LE CORPS D’ALEXANDRE CAMERON, OFFICIER DE  
DIENGALLON EN ECOSSE QUI MOURUT DE LA FIEVRE EN  
CET ENDROIT AU MOIS D’AOUT 1759, SERVANT ALORS SON  
ROI ET SA PATRIE. LES LIEUTENANT COLONELS NAIRN  
ET MALCOLM FRASER ONT LEVE CE MONUMENT A LA MEMOIRE DE  
LEUR AMI ET DE LEUR FRERE”

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN QUEBEC

" THIS STONE IS PUT HERE BY LIEUT. COLONEL NAIRN  
AND LIEUT. COL. FRASER IN MEMORY OF THEIR DEAR FRIEND  
AND MUCH RESPECTED BROTHER OFFICER ALEX. CAMERON, ESQUIRE  
OF DIENGALLON IN SCOTLAND, WHO DIED OF A FEVER IN AUGUST 1759.  
WHEN IN SERVICE OF HIS KING AND COUNTRY, AND IS HERE INTERRED.

In Col. Malcolm Fraser's journal of the siege of Quebec 1759, it is stated that on the 3rd of September his detachment was camped at Point Levy and " this day died my worthy Captain, Alexander Cameron "— and " was interred on the 4th, in front of our colors ".

It may therefore be safely inferred that after the capitulation of the City Captain, Cameron's remains were transferred to Quebec and the stone placed over them in its present position.

FRED. C. WÜRTELE.

## LADIES' PROTESTANT HOME OF QUEBEC

Amongst the many noble works undertaken by the ladies of Quebec, the Protestant Home is a monument. This institution has accomplished much real work, and it deserves all the support necessary for its efficient maintenance.

The act of incorporation was assented to on the 4th of May, 1859.

The preamble of the act reads as follows :—

" Whereas an association has existed for several  
" years in the City of Quebec, in this Province, under  
" the name of the Quebec Ladies' Protestant Relief  
" Society, for the purpose of affording relief and sup-  
" port to the destitute poor in the said city; whereas,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ the said association is composed of the several persons  
“ hereinafter mentioned, who have by their Petition  
“ represented that their success in carrying out their  
“ benevolent prospects aforesaid, as well as providing  
“ a ‘ Home ’ for the friendless and unprotected, would  
“ be greatly augmented by their legal incorporation,  
“ and have prayed to be incorporated under certain  
“ regulations and provisions hereinafter mentioned :  
“ Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and  
“ consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of  
“ Canada, enacts as follows :

“ Eliza Stewart, Caroline Newton, Mary Ann  
“ Bankier, Harriet Newton, Margaret Newton, Louisa  
“ Stewart, Ann Sheppard, Jane White, Caroline  
“ Gilmour, Mary Chaderton, Sarah Walker Veasey,  
“ Myerka Austin, Lavinia Sewell, Henrietta Blather-  
“ wick, Mary Powis, Mary Richardson, Francis  
“ Tremain, Gertrude Sewell, Sophy Griffin, Jane  
“ Durnford, Matilda Ward, Elizabeth Drum, and Jessy  
“ Cradock, and such other persons as shall under the  
“ provisions of this statute become members of the  
“ said association, shall be, and are hereby declared to  
“ be a body politic and corporate in deed and in name,  
“ by the name of the Ladies’ Protestant Home of  
“ Quebec.”

The President is Mrs. Gregor, and Miss Anderson  
is the Secretary.

## ST. ANDREW’S CHURCH

THE REV. A. T. LOVE, B.A., PASTOR

St. Andrew’s Church (Presbyterian) is one of the  
oldest churches in Canada. Divine services may be  
said to date from the year of the Siege, being conducted

### ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH

by the Reverend Robert Macpherson, the brave chaplain of Fraser's Highlanders, the regiment so highly distinguished at the battle of Louisbourg, as well as the capture of Quebec under General Wolfe in 1759. In the Highland regiment we come across the names—Campbell, Cameron, Fraser, McLeod, Macpherson, Thomson, Blackwood, Munro, Paterson, McLean, McDonald members of the Church of Scotland, so that very soon after the taking of Quebec a Presbyterian Church was organized. The Reverend George Henry, an ex-military chaplain, and said to have been present at the capture of Quebec, was the first regular pastor of the Scottish Church, beginning his duties as such in 1765. An apartment which was fitted up for a chapel was set apart by the King's representative in the Jesuit's College for the use of the members of the Scottish Church, this being occupied until 1807, when the building was appropriated for the use of the troops quartered in the city. Mr. Henry died on the 6th of July, 1795, in the 86th year of his age. The following notice appeared at the time in the *Quebec Gazette* :—

“To the character of an able divine he united that benevolence of heart and practical goodness which made his life a constant example of the virtues he recommended to others, and rendered him both a useful teacher of Christianity, and an ornament of Society.”

Mr. Henry was succeeded by the Reverend Dr. Spark, a native of Marykirk, Scotland, and a graduate of the University of Aberdeen. After arriving in Quebec and before undertaking the pastorate of the church, Mr.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Spark was for several years tutor in the family of Sir John Caldwell, at Belmont. His ministry continued for thirty-four years from the death of his predecessor. In 1802 a petition was addressed to King George III desiring that a lot of ground be granted to the congregation upon which to erect a place of worship. This memorial was signed by 148 persons. A copy of the petition and of the names attached to it is given in an interesting address on "The Scot in New France" by Sir James Macpherson Lemoine. One of these petitioners was Sergeant James Thomson, of Fraser's Highlanders, who had also served under Wolfe at the Siege of Quebec; who, 68 years afterwards, assisted Lord Dalhousie in laying the corner-stone of the Wolfe and Montcalm monument, and who died, in 1830, aged 98 years. Among other names on the petition were Mrs. Jane Sewell, wife of Solicitor-General Sewell, Mrs. Hamilton Sewell, wife of Chief Justice Sewell, and daughter of Chief Justice Smith. Chief Justice Smith was one of the office-bearers and a strong supporter of the Scottish Church. He was born in New York in 1728, and became Chief Justice of New York; afterwards, in reward for his loyalty, being made Chief Justice of Lower Canada, to which he came in 1786. In 1802, letters patent were issued granting as a place for the erection of a church, a lot of ground on St. Ann Street to the Reverend Alexander Spark, John Blackwood, John Mure, David Munro and John Paterson, and their successors in trust for ever. The building was completed and opened for public worship on No-

### ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH

vember 30th, 1810, and was named St. Andrew's Church. Previous to this the congregation was called the Scotch Church. From this time the congregation rapidly grew and became strong and influential. Dr. Spark died in 1819. The *Quebec Mercury* said of him : " We may say beyond the reach of contradiction, that he was not only skilled in letters ; that in life and manners he showed a simplicity and innocence beyond what are seen in most men, and that few here died more universally and more sincerely lamented. "

The Reverend Dr. Harkness, a native of Sanquhar, Scotland, succeeded Dr. Spark in 1820. He is spoken of as a warm hearted and generous man, and a fearless defender of the rights of his church. He was a great favourite with Lord Dalhousie, and was a frequent guest at the Castle. He died in 1835 in the 46th year of his age and the 15th of his ministry. The Reverend John Cook D. D. followed in 1836. He like his predecessor, was a native of Sanquhar, Scotland, and was educated at Glasgow University. He was born in 1805, and died on the 31st of March, 1892. Dr. Cook was in many respects a remarkable man. For well nigh half a century he was a leader in his Church and used his best influence to bring about the union of all the branches of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875. He was honoured by being the first Moderator of the general assembly of the United Church. Dr. Cook whilst being an able preacher, took a lively interest in all matters affecting education, and was a trustee of Queen's College, Kingston, a



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

member of the corporation of McGill University, Montreal, and a member of the Council of Public Instruction for the Province of Quebec, and Principal of Morrin College, Quebec, from 1862 till death. A beautiful tablet was placed behind the pulpit by the members of the congregation to the memory of one who had been their devoted pastor for forty eight years. The Reverend Andrew Tannahill Love, B. A. a native of Dunlop, Ayrshire Scotland, succeeded Dr. Cook, and was inducted to the pastorate on the 18th of December 1884. Mr. Love is a graduate in Arts of Queen's College, Kingston, and took his divinity course at Glasgow University. His pastorate has been highly successful, and he continues to gather around him a large and influential congregation, a people contributing not merely for their own local church, but giving largely of their means for the missionary educational and benevolent work of the church throughout Canada. Mr. Love is a member of the Provincial Council of Public Instruction, and is much interested in educational work generally.

The old church presents a very antique appearance with its odd looking sky-light windows, and stair ways going up inside the building. There are a number of very handsome and costly windows erected to the memory of departed office bearers, there are also several fine old tablets, one on the east wall bearing this inscription :



ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH

LXXIX

CAMERON HIGHLANDERS

TO THE MEMORY OF THEIR COMRADES, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE  
WHILST SERVING IN CANADA

A D. 1848-1851

CUIMHUE

NAN SONN NACH MAIR EANN.

Then follows the names and rank of thirty-six officers and men.

The following gentlemen are the present office bearers of the Church :

*Kirk Session*

The Rev. A. T. Love, B.A. Minister

*Elders*

Mr. J. C. Thomson,	Mr. W. R. Dean,
Mr. J. H. Clint,	Mr. Jas. Reid,
Mr. A. J. Elliot,	Mr. Robert Stewart,
Mr. John Strang,	Mr. John Jack.

*Trustees*

Rev. A. T. Love,	Mr. John Breakey,
Mr. Andrew Thomson,	Mr. F. Lampson.
Mr. Wm. Cook,	

THE METHODIST CHURCH

BY REV. W. H. SPARLING, B. A.

The first Methodist preacher in Quebec was a Mr. Tuffey, a commissary of the 44th regiment, which was quartered in the city in the year 1780. This pious and

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

devoted man, being a Local preacher, preached to the soldiers, and such of the Protestant immigrants of the city as were disposed to attend, and continued to do so until his regiment was disbanded and he returned home.

The first Methodist Itinerant to visit the city was the famous, but somewhat eccentric, Lorenzo Dow. Being sent, in the year 1799, by Bishop Asbury, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, to form a Circuit in Lower Canada, he travelled through Sutton and Dunham Townships to Montreal. Believing himself called of God to visit Ireland he sailed down the river to Quebec and, while waiting for a vessel to cross the ocean, preached as he had opportunity. Under his ministry some twenty persons were seriously impressed but, so far as known, no Class was formed and no effort made to establish a permanent organization.

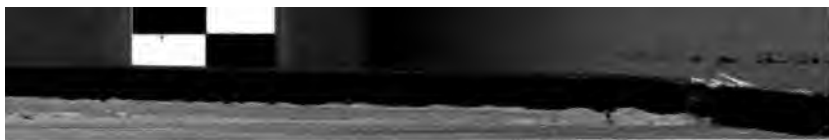
The City was not again visited by a Methodist preacher till the year 1803 when the Rev. Samuel Merwin, who was then stationed in Montreal, came to Québec with the view of forming a Class and establishing a Church in the city, but not meeting with much encouragement he returned to Montreal, after staying about a month, and continued his labors there.

In the year 1806, the Rev. Nathan Bangs, subsequently famous as a Methodist historian, came to Quebec. Arriving on a Saturday morning, with letters of introduction to some persons in the city, he at once presented them and set about securing a place in which

### **THE METHODIST CHURCH**

to hold service and succeeded in renting a room over the Free Masons Hall, where the Post Office now stands. Here on the following day he preached to a fairly good congregation and at once set earnestly to work to establish Methodism in the city. Calling on the Rev. Mr. Dick pastor of St. John's (now Chalmer's Church) he was most cordially received and treated with much affection and respect. For a while his congregation was quite good, but soon the interest in the services began to grow less and the hearers few, while only three or four seemed to be under serious impressions. He persevered, however, and succeeded in forming a class and from that time to the present Methodism has taken a firm stand in the city.

The next year, 1807, the Reverend Samuel Coate was sent, whose ministry was greatly appreciated, resulting in a marked increase in the congregation and membership. Mr. Coate's immediate successors were Thomas Madden, Samuel Cochrane, George McCracken, James Mitchell and Joseph Scull. Those were days of a short pastoral term, it being seldom more and sometimes even less than one year. The Society in Quebec had thus far been supplied by ministers from the Genesee Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the United States; but now, owing to the breaking out of the war of 1812, the supply was interrupted and for a considerable time the society was without any regular pastor. During this period services were maintained by a sergeant named Webster, of the 103 Regiment, then quartered in Quebec, who preached



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

regularly to the Methodists of the city, with great acceptability, until his regiment was removed to Upper Canada in the summer of 1813. For the next eight months the care of the Society, and the maintenance of its services devolved on a local Preacher named Peter Langlois. This pious and zealous man regularly conducted service, and kept the Society together, until the Rev. John B. Strong was sent out from England by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in June, 1814. Upon his arrival Mr. Strong found a Society of about 35 members closely united in the bonds of Christian affection, and entered upon his work with great zeal and earnestness. So steadily and quickly did the Society grow under his wise and faithful administration, that the place in which they had hitherto worshipped became too strait for them, and it was found necessary to provide a larger and more commodious place of worship for the rapidly increasing congregation. Accordingly a subscription of four hundred pounds was taken and a lot purchased on Ann street, where Tara Hall now stands. In the Autumn of 1815, Mr. Strong was removed to Montreal, and the Rev. Richard Williams appointed to Quebec. In the summer of 1815 the building of the church was begun and completed the following Spring, at a cost of about fifteen hundred pounds. On the 17th day of April, 1817, this first Methodist Church in the city of Quebec was dedicated by the Rev. John Hick, and the Rev. Richard Williams preaching the sermons of the day. In the years following the opening of the Church, the Society steadily



### THE METHODIST CHURCH

grew in numbers without any very marked increase in any one year ; but in the year 1832, under the administration of the Rev. Matthew Lang, a most gracious revival of religion took place, which resulted in the addition of 155 members in one year, greatly strengthening the church and increasing its influence in the community.

In 1815, the first Sunday School was organized, by a young man named Walker, which rapidly grew in numbers and efficiency after the opening of the church provided suitable accommodation for it.

In 1831, a second Methodist Church was erected on Champlain street which was used until the threatening character of the overhanging cliff made it dangerous as a place of assembly. It stood almost directly underneath the place from which the rock fell in 1841 and 1889. The people being afraid to worship in it after the fall of rock in 1841, it was soon abandoned as a place of worship, and sold.

In 1839, a third Methodist Church was opened in St. Louis suburbs, where a Sunday School was organized, and public service regularly held, until it was destroyed by fire in one of the great conflagrations with which the city was visited.

The steady growth of the membership of the Society, together with the misfortunes attending the smaller churches just referred to, rendered the church in Ann street too small for the Methodism of the city, and led to the erection of the present substantial and commodious edifice which was dedicated on the 7th



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

day of October, 1849, the Rev. Matthew Richey, D.D., preaching the opening sermon.

The Church had now become firmly established, and an important factor in the religious life of the city, a position which it has continued to maintain down to the present time. The order of its pastorate being that of the itinerancy, a large number of ministers have served in its pulpit during its history. Prominent among these, and still well remembered, are such names as William Squire, Matthew Lang, William Harvard, Jas. Brock, William Pollard, John Gemley, John Borland, E. Botterell, George Young, D.D., Geo. H. Davis, James Elliott, D.D., Henry F. Bland, LeRoy Hooker, Andrew B. Chambers, B.C.L., J. W. Sparling, D.D., W. J. Jolliff, B.C.L., Thos. J. Mansell, William Sparling, B.A., B.D., and Thos. Griffith, Ph.D. Under the judicious and faithful administration of these ministers seconded by "those whose hearts God had touched," it has been a power making for righteousness throughout all the years of its history.

The following are the present Office Bearers in the church :

Rev. W. H. Sparling, B.A., minister.

#### *Official Board :*

John Shaw,	W. G. L. Paxman,
Raymond Lindsay,	T. Andrews,
J. J. Dunlop,	Chas. F. Thorne,
Lorne C. Webster,	Alex. Forrest.
Richard Ackerman,	



## CHALMERS' CHURCH

### *Trustees :*

Gordon C. Renfrew,	T. A. Piddington,
Walter Ray,	J. J. Dunlop,
Wm. McWilliam,	Frank Glass,
John Shaw,	Wm. Shaw,
A. Dunlop Webster,	T. S. Hethrington,
John H. Holt,	Joseph Whitehead,
Geo. Alford.	

### CHALMERS' CHURCH. (PRESBYTERIAN)

On Sunday March the 8th 1903, Chalmers' Church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, the preacher being the Rev. Dr. Mowatt of Montreal. In the report of the service published in the press of the 9th of March, there is an excellent sketch of the church, which we here quote in part, after revision by the pastor :

" Although the present church building was opened for worship only fifty years ago, the congregation has been in existence for about a hundred years, having been organized about the beginning of last century. The Congregation assumed the name of " Chalmers' " Church at the time of the opening of the present building ; previously it was known as " St. John's. " For a number of years after its organization the congregation met for public worship in a rented house. It was not till June 20th, 1816, that the foundation stone of St. John's Church was laid. The record states that on the 20th of June, 1816, the foundation stone was laid by the Freemasons amidst a great concourse of spectators and was called " St. John's ", in occasion to the day, and on 7th of April, 1817, being Easter Monday, the building was opened for public worship. "



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The first minister of the congregation was the Rev. Clark Bentom, who was sent out to Quebec by the London Missionary Society in response to a petition sent home by a number of persons who desired a minister of Evangelical sentiments. On the arrival of Mr. Bentom in Quebec in 1800 a room was rented and he commenced his ministry with much acceptance. Mr. Bentom returned to England in 1807, and was succeeded by Rev. Francis Dick, of whom is said he was a plain preacher, a sound divine and a good English Biblical scholar, but owing to ill-health he returned to Scotland in 1812, although he did not sever his connection with the congregation till 1814, when the Rev. George Spratt was called to the pastorate. It was during the ministry of Mr. Spratt that St. John's Church was built.

Mr. Spratt continued to labor till April, 1821. During 1822-23 the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Isaac Purkiss. In 1824 the congregation extended a call to Rev. Geo. Bourne, of the Presbytery of New York, and he remained minister till 29th of September, 1829. Up till this time, although some of the ministers and many of the members were Presbyterian, the church was not formally connected with the Presbyterian Church, but was a Union or Congregational Church.

In 1830 the congregation became formally connected with the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. John Clugston became minister and continued pastor till 1848. During the ministry of Mr. Clugston in



### CHALMERS' CHURCH

1844 the "Disruption" took place and the congregation severed its connection with the established Church of Scotland and became connected with the Canada Presbyterian Church. Mr Clugston returned to Scotland in 1848. The congregation was without a settled minister from 1848 till 1853, but had very excellent pulpit supply during this long vacancy. Among those who supplied the pulpit at this time were the Rev. Mr. Walker, of Newton Stewart, Scotland, and the Rev. George Paxton Young, afterwards Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Toronto, and one of the greatest teachers our country has ever had.

In 1853 the Rev. W. B. Clark, of Dumfries Scotland, became minister and continued his faithful labors for twenty years. In the same year, on the 6th of March, 1853, the present church was opened with appropriate services conducted by the Rev. Dr. Donald Fraser, then of Montreal, and by Rev. W. B. Clark, the newly elected minister. The Rev. Peter Wright (now Dr. Wright was minister during the years 1875-77. Dr. Wright is now minister in Nelson, B. C. Dr. Wright was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Matthews, who was called to the pastorate in 1879 and continued the faithful and successful minister of the congregation till 1888, when he was appointed General Secretary of the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, and now resides in London, England.

The present minister, Rev. Donald Tait, B. A., was inducted on 5th September, 1889.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The first Trustees were Messrs. James Gibb, O. L. Richardson, J. G. Ross, John Ross, James Hossack, John R. Young and H. McBlain.

The Session at the time of the opening of the church consisted of the following members:—Rev. W. B. Clark, minister; Alexander Haddan, O. L. Richardson, James Gibb, John Munn, John Young.

The present Session consists of the following members:—The Minister, Rev. D. Tait; Robert Brodie, Session Clerk; W. C. Young, Peter Johnston, James Muir, J. B. Logie.

Board of Management.—William Brodie Chairman; R. F. Cream, Secretary; Gavin Moir, Treasurer; C. H. Geggie, John T. Ross, F. W. Ross, Herman Young, D. Watters.

Trustees.—William Brodie, Frank Ross, D. H. Geggie, John T. Ross, Peter Johnston, A. Miller, Herman Young.

Chalmers' Church has always taken a deep interest in missionary and benevolent work and contributes liberally to these objects. There are few congregations in the Presbyterian Church in which the average givings are higher than in this congregation.

At the time of the opening of Chalmers' Church, and for many years after, John Munn, one of its members, was the largest employer of labor in Quebec. His shipyards furnished for many winters almost the only work the laboring population of St. Roch's had, and the relations of employer and employed were so cordial that he was universally esteemed as the special



### CHALMERS' CHURCH

friend of the laboring masses. He did yeoman service to the city's interests in his persistent efforts to establish a line of first-class passenger boats to Montreal, and built and ran for years on that route the steamer John Munn, at that time the finest passenger boat on the St. Lawrence.

During his career two other members, John and James Ross, were laying the foundations of the largest wholesale grocery business in Canada, which, in the early fifties, had assumed immense proportions. In addition to their headquarters in Quebec they had depots of goods in Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, and in the States, Boston, New York, New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati and Cleveland, wherever goods could be sold to advantage.

The shipbuilding industry in Quebec was carried by them to the highest success it ever attained in the Province. They sailed their ships when they could not sell them, and were the first owners of seagoing craft to employ French-Canadian sailors and ship's officers, whose only training had been the coasting trade of the St. Lawrence. They soon became the equal of the best sailors in British or foreign fleets and usually surpassed them in sobriety and economy.

Their services to the railway interests of the Province were no less signal and important than those devoted to shipping. They were the first to take up the scheme of Mr. Hulbert, an American contractor, for a wooden railway from Quebec to Gosford, and advanced over a hundred thousand dollars, which,

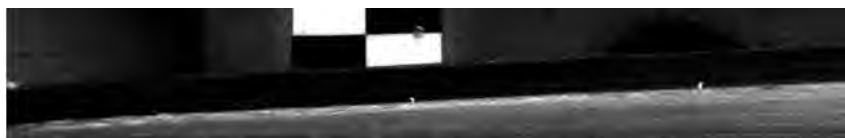


### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

augmented by large subscriptions from F. B. Renaud and Wm. Withall, secured the testing of the scheme, and resulted in the loss of the money, but that loss to them developed into the building of the Lake St. John Railway, and became to the city and district the most valuable service rendered them by private capital since the city's foundation.

The Quebec Central also, during the severe struggles of its earlier history, was liberally aided from the same source, and kept on the road to success, which crowned it at last.

Their uncle, James Gibb, who died suddenly in October, 1858, founder of their house and their partner until his death, was also a member of Chalmers' Church. He had retired from active business for some years ; was President of the Quebec Bank at the time of his death, owner of valuable properties, wharves and warehouses, having established himself, by his just, upright business methods in the esteem of all, French and English alike. He left the great commercial interests he had inaugurated in a most healthy and progressive state. There are other names connected with Chalmers' Church that will not soon be forgotten in the Ancient Capital. Their contributions to their Church's and city's prosperity having established for them a worthy record."



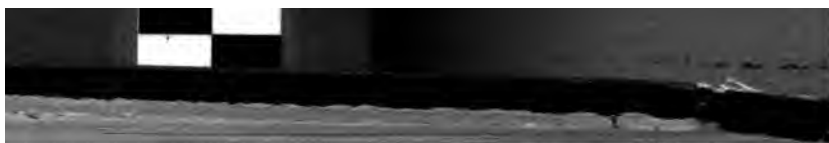
## THE BAPTIST CHURCH

### QUEBEC BAPTIST CHURCH

BY THE REV. DONALD GRANT, B. A.

The Quebec Baptist Church was organized in the year 1845, the constituent members numbering fifteen. At this date and for some years previous to it the congregation worshipped in an upper room of the old Post Office on Buade street. Among those who supplied their pulpit mention is made of Dr. Benjamin Davies, and Dr. J. M. Cramp, men who figured prominently in Baptist Educational work. In the fifty-eight years of its history the church has had nine pastors, the Revs. David Marsh, H. F. Adams, E. J. Stobo, W. B. Hutchinson, A. T. Dykeman, C. H. Day, John Alexander, G. J. Cliff and Donald Grant. The first pastor, the Rev. David Marsh, arrived from England, in 1845. His pastorate extended over thirty-nine years, and forms a remarkable record of devoted service. On the tablet placed to his memory in the audience room of the church occur these words: "This tablet was erected in loving remembrance of him to whose instrumentality under God this Church chiefly owes its existence, and whose earnest labours and consistent walk during his long pastorate won the respect and esteem of all classes of the community."

The building on McMahon street in which the congregation now worships was erected in 1853. In the Deed of Sale recording the Church's acquisition of this property, the names of Rev. David Marsh, James



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

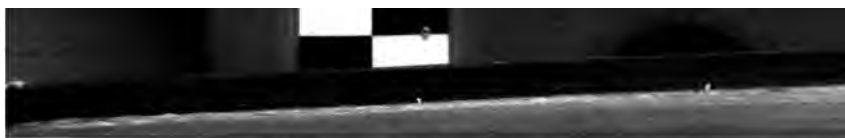
Bowen, James Woodley, Joseph Woodley, William Wright and Charles McKenzie appear as trustees. In 1877 the Sunday-school Hall was added.

The membership of the Church has never been large; in 1882 it numbered fifty-one, at present it numbers one hundred and five. The congregation is composed mainly of families that have long been connected with the Church. The members in general give cheerfully for its support, and there have always been connected with it those who have been able and willing to respond liberally to special demands. About twenty-five of its members are French-Canadians who are under the pastoral care of Rev. L. R. Dutaud of the Grande Ligne Mission. They meet for worship in a chapel on St. Margaret street, St. Roch.

Individual members of the Quebec Baptist Church have taken a deep interest in the uudenominal enterprises of the city, as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Women's Christian Association, the Ladies' Protestant Home, the Jeffery Hale's Hospital and the Bible Society.

In 1889 the Church entered the Eastern Association comprising the Baptist Churches of Montreal and the Eastern Townships, and was thus brought into closer touch with Baptist denominational life.

The organizations connected with the Church are the Sunday-School, of which Mr. W. A. Marsh, son of the Rev. David Marsh, is Superintendent; the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, the Women's Mission Circle, the Ladies' Aid Society and



#### THE BAPTIST CHURCH

the Mission Band. The Deacons for the current year are Messrs. W. A. Marsh, Robert Stanley, H. Woodside, and H. H. Distin ; the Trustees, Messrs. W. A. Marsh, R. Stanley, W. Vincent, H. A. Calvin, E. C. Fry, H. Woodside, William Lee, Edson Fitch and John Darlington.

The Eastern Association held its annual meeting with this church in 1893, and in June of this year, 1903, it met with it again. At the same time the church celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of its house of worship.

#### FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH

This building is situated on St. John street, near St. Matthew's Church. It was built about 25 years ago. The present pastor is the Rev. M. Boudreault.

#### THE SALVATION ARMY

In Quebec, as in many other cities, there is a Salvation Army. In the first years of its existence opposition was manifested and a series of riots attended its establishment, like those though on a smaller scale, which attended the establishment of the army in certain districts in London. The meetings were commenced in the month of August, 1886, and addresses were delivered in French by Mrs. Simcoe.

In January, 1887, two female members of the army named Long and Staples conducted meetings in the old Congregational church situated at the corner of Palace and MacMahon streets.



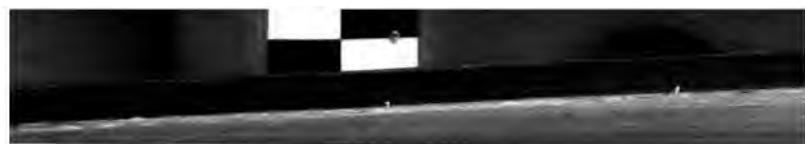
### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

On the 25th of August, 1887, the Army celebrated the first anniversary of its foundation. A band from Montreal was engaged for the procession, but a crowd of idlers and ill-advised young men followed the procession, yelling, and throwing stones at the members of the army who were in full uniform. These disturbances occurred whenever the army paraded in the streets, and on several occasions the public and the civic authorities had to interfere to maintain order.

Since 1888, the army has discontinued its processions, and confined its operations to meetings and to relieving the distressed.

The army has a refuge where unfortunates can obtain food and temporary shelter. The charitable work of the army is maintained by voluntary subscriptions, and a large number daily receive aid under the auspices of the Army.







*Aus Braves.  
Pere. Massé.*



*Jacques Cartier.  
Port-Mellick.*

*Wolfe.  
Champlain.  
Wolfe and Montcalm.*



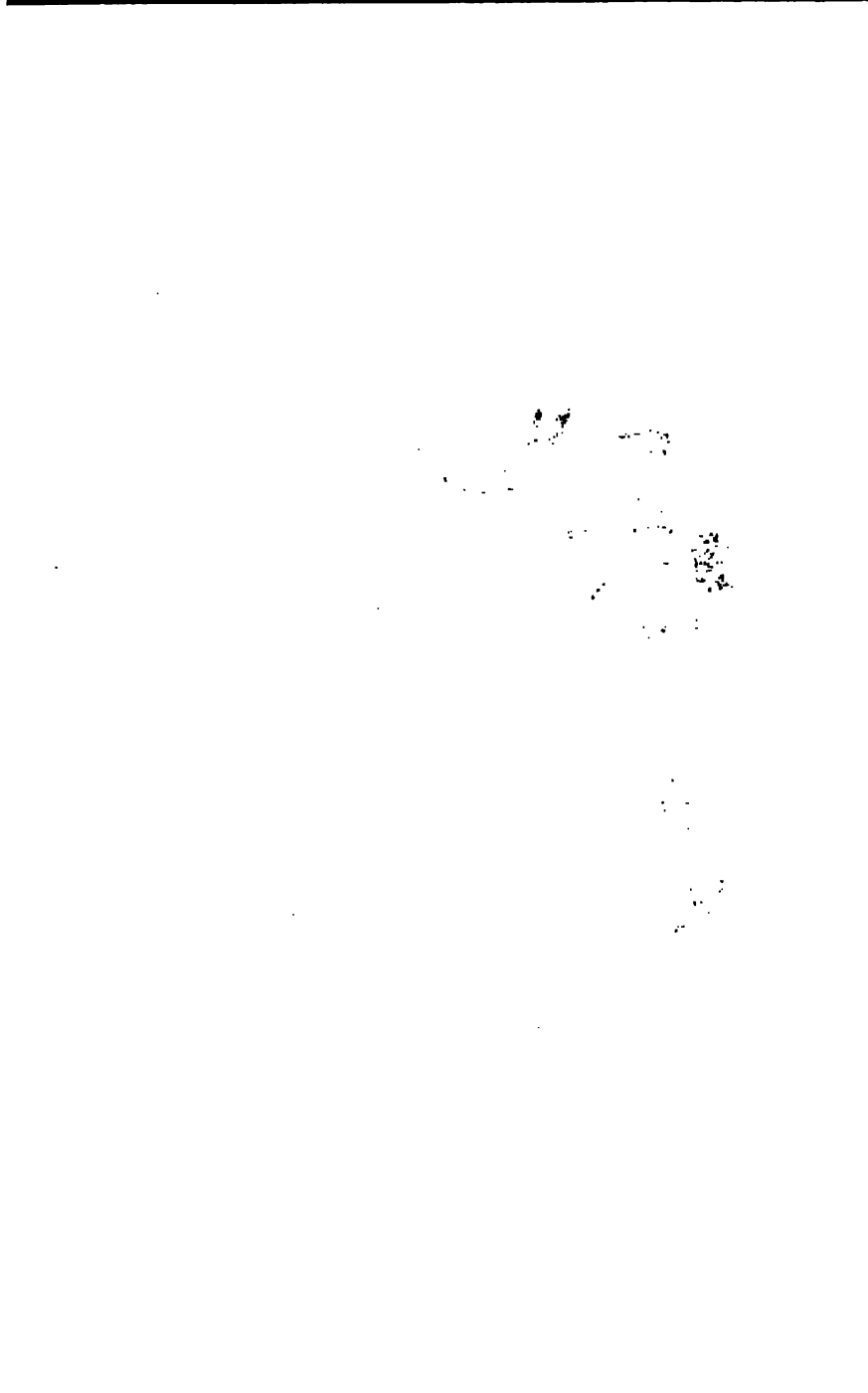
THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL

from the Gaoi, to the  
wounds a simple monument to the  
It is a plain round column sur-  
and a helmet.

On the pedestal are these words:

THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL  
VICTORIA  
1878

On a plate attached to the base of the





## CHAPTER XV

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1827-1908

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### MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC

WOLFE'S MONUMENT — WOLFE AND MONTCALM — STE  
FOY MONUMENT — JACQUES-CARTIER MONUMENT  
— CHAMPLAIN MONUMENT — FATHER MASSÉ —  
SHORT-WALLICK MONUMENT — QUEEN VICTORIA  
MONUMENT

**A**t a short distance from the Quebec Gaol, to the north west, stands a simple monument to the immortal Wolfe. It is a plain round column surmounted by a sword and a helmet.

On one side of the pedastal are these words :

HERE DIED  
WOLFE  
VICTORIOUS  
SEPT. 13  
1759

cut in relief on a plate attached to the base of the column.



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

On the other side :

THIS PILLAR  
WAS ERECTED BY THE  
BRITISH ARMY  
IN CANADA 1849  
HIS EXCELLENCY  
LIEUTENANT GENERAL  
SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN  
G. C. B., K. C. H., K. C. T. S., ETC.  
COMMANDER OF THE FORCES  
TO REPLACE THAT ERECTED BY  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL LORD AYLMER, G. C. B.  
IN 1832  
WHICH WAS BROKEN AND DEFACED  
AND IS DEPOSITED BENRATH.

When Wolfe fell mortally wounded on the 13th of September, 1759, he was carried to the rear of his line, and died on this spot shortly after. For seventy-three years after this event, no monument in Quebec marked either the scene of his victory or of his death ; although fifty-seven years before, the British officers had erected an obelisk in his honour in the city of New York. In 1832, Lord Aylmer erected at his own expense a simple monument, and this was replaced in 1849, through the generosity of the British officers forming the garrison of Quebec.

### THE WOLFE-MONTCALM MONUMENT

Under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, the Wolfe-Montcalm monument was erected, which is situated at the entrance to the Governor's Garden,



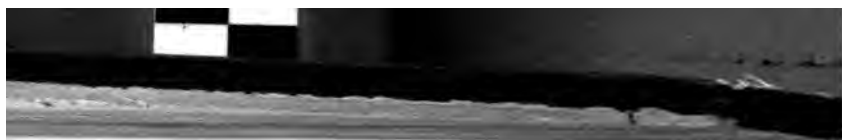
## MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC

facing the river. The first meeting of citizens was held on the 1st November, 1827, under the presidency of the governor. On the 15th of the same month, Lord Dalhousie laid the corner stone in the presence of the official, religious, military and civil world of Quebec. On this stone is engraved the following inscription :

HUJUSCE  
MONUMENTI IN MEMORIAM  
VIROBUM ILLUSTRIBUS  
WOLFE ET MONTCALEM  
FUNDAMENTUM  
P. C  
GEORGIUS COMES DE DALHOUSIE  
IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICÆ PARTIBUS  
AD BRITANNOS PERTINENTIBUS  
SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS ;  
OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM  
(QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENIENTIUS ?)  
AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLO STIMULANS  
MUNIFICENTIA FOVENS  
DIE NOVEMBRIS XV<sup>a</sup>  
A. D. MDCCCXXVII  
GEORGIO IV BRITANNIARUM REGE.

The ceremony concluded with the firing of a salute from the Citadel and the singing of the national anthem " God save the King."

The work of building the monument was begun in 1828 and completed on the 8th September, the day fixed for Lord Dalhousie's departure. Capt. Fox Maule, of the 79th Highlanders, had undertaken at the Governor's request to lay the crowning stone of the



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

monument. The ceremony, less solemn than the first, possessed a certain element of sadness for amongst those present were a great many who were very sympathetic to the noble lord and were really grieved at his final departure from Canada. Sir James Kempt, the new administrator, was present at this demonstration.

At the beginning, the committee appointed for the erection of the monument, had opened a competition and offered a medal to the person who would compose the best inscription. It was won by J. Charlton Fisher, LL.D., with a very short, very simple but very suitable Latin inscription. It is engraved on the cenotaph of the monument and reads as follows :

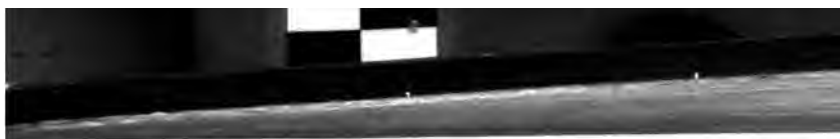
MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM  
FAMAM HISTORIA  
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS  
DEDIT.

(Translation)

VALOUR GAVE THEM A COMMON DEATH  
HISTORY A COMMON FAME  
AND POSTERITY A COMMON MONUMENT.

THE STE. FOY MONUMENT

This monument was made after a design by the Chevalier Charles Baillargé of Quebec. It consists of a column of fluted bronze standing on a pedestal, the four corners whereof support four mortars also of bronze. The front of the pedestal facing Ste. Foy road bears the following inscription : " Aux braves de 1760—Érigé par la Société St. Jean Baptiste de



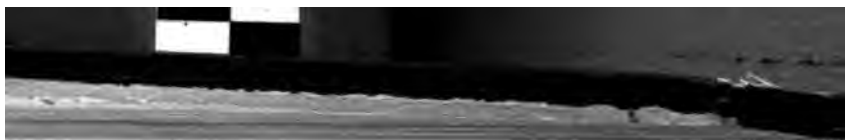
### MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC

Québec, 1860." On the side towards the city, the name of MURRAY stands out in relief above the arms of Great Britain, on the side of Ste. Foy, the name of LEVIS stands above the emblems of Old France. In the rear a bas-relief represents the famous wind-mill of Dumont, which was held in turn by the English and the French, and finally carried by the Grenadiers de la Reine under M. d'Aiguebelles, after a furious battle with the Scotch Highlanders, under Colonel Fraser.

A statue of Bellona ten feet high, the gift of Prince Jérôme Napoléon, cousin of Napoléon III, crowns the monument which is itself sixty-five feet high.

The human bones found on the site of Dumont's mill in 1854 were transported with much pomp to the Quebec Cathedral and before being buried at the spot where the commemorative monument now stands, Archbishop Turgeon, in a very solemn ceremony, pronounced over the remains of the rival warriors, the words of hope and faith in the resurrection.

In the following year, on the 18th of July, 1855, General Rowan, the administrator and acting governor of Canada, laid the corner stone of this monument in the presence of M. de Belvèze, commander of the corvette "*La Capricieuse*," the first French man of war that had sailed up the St. Lawrence since 1759; in the presence also of the 16th regiment of British infantry with colours, of a detachment of artillery, a detachment of sailors from the French corvette under arms, of a group of Hurons from Lorette in war costume and an immense crowd of spectators.



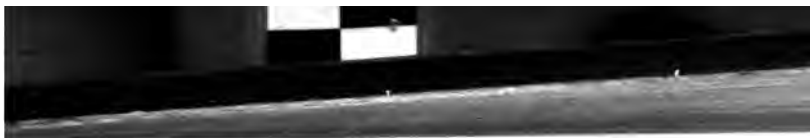
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

### JACQUES-CARTIER MONUMENT

The idea of this monument originated in the midst of the Cercle Catholique of Quebec about the year 1885. In the following year it purchased from the Parke family the ground on which it was intended to erect a monument to the memory of the Discoverer of Canada and to the Jesuit Fathers de Brébeuf, Massé and Lalemant. It was decided also to erect a *fac-simile* of the cross planted by Cartier on the 3rd May 1536 at the confluence of the river St. Charles and the river Lairet.

In 1887 the Literary and Historical committee of the *Cercle* issued a warm appeal for subscriptions. The public who had favorably received the project, responded, and generously subscribed the \$4,500 which was the cost of the ground, the monument and cross. Amongst the most eminent subscribers may be mentioned His Excellency the Marquess of Lansdowne, Governor-General of Canada, Hon. L. R. Masson, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, H. H. the Comte de Paris, the Duc d'Aumale, the Marquis de Bassano, His Eminence Cardinal Tischeau, His Excellency Lord Stanley of Preston, Governor-General, Prince Roland Bonaparte, and the city of St. Malo.

The shape of the Jacques-Cartier monument greatly resembles that of an antique cippus. Its height is about 25 feet including the tumulus upon which it stands. The pedestal is of Laurentian gneiss nine feet



## MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC

square and consists of three courses with projections of eight inches on each face. The base, of Deschambault limestone, is ornamented on each side with a cartouch carved in high relief. The die resting on that base is a single block magnificently polished resembling lapis lazuli. It bears the following inscriptions, engraved and gilt.

At the entrance :

JACQUES CARTIER  
ET SES HARDIS COMPAGNONS  
LES MARINS  
DE LA GRANDE HERMINE  
DE LA PETITE HERMINE ET DE L'ÉMÉRILLON  
PASSÈRENT ICI L'HIVER  
DE 1535-36

(Translation)

JACQUES CARTIER  
AND HIS BRAVE COMRADES  
THE MARINES  
OF LA GRANDE HERMINE  
OF LA PETITE HERMINE AND L'ÉMÉRILLON  
PASSED THE WINTER HERE  
OF 1535-36

Facing the city :

On the 3rd May 1536 Jacques Cartier erected at the spot where he had spent the winter, a cross 35 feet high, bearing a shield with fleurs-de-lys, and the inscription :

FRANCISCUS PRIMUS  
DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM  
REX REGNAT.



## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

On the East side :

On the 23rd September 1625, Fathers Jean de Brébeuf, Ennemond Massé and Charles Lalemant solemnly took possession of the ground known as Fort Jacques Cartier at the confluence of the rivers St. Charles and Laitet to erect thereon the first residence of the Jesuit missionaries in Quebec.

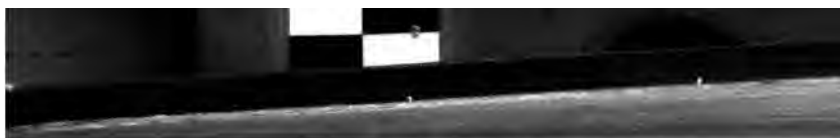
On the side facing the river Laitet, above the cypher of the Society of Jesus, in the middle of a large palm, appear the names of the principal martyrs of the Society of Jesus in Canada : Brébeuf, Lalemant, Jogues, Garnier, Buteux, Massé, Daniel and de Noue.

The principal mouldings of the cornice and the frieze with carved rosettes, contain, (facing the entrance,) the arms of the city of St. Malo ; on the other side those of the Cercle Catholique de Québec.

The whole is surmounted by a naval crown resting on a small cylindrical base. This crown has the usual masts, sails, poops of vessels and crenellated tops.

The honour of executing the plan of this monument is due to Mr. E. E. Taché and it was executed by M. J. A. Bélanger, marble-cutter of St. Roch, Quebec.

The inauguration of the Jacques Cartier monument took place on the 24th of June 1889 amidst an immense concourse of people. His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau celebrated mass on the monument grounds. After the service the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau delivered a very eloquent speech worthy of figuring beside that which he had delivered in 1855 at the inauguration of the Ste Foy monument.



## MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC

Hon. Mr. Angers, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, had opened a literary competition in connection with Jacques Cartier. The medals were distributed at the same place. Messrs. J. Pope, N. E. Dionne, H. B. Stephens and Joüon des Longrais were proclaimed laureates amidst the applause of the assembly.

### CHAMPLAIN MONUMENT

The idea of erecting a monument to the Founder of Quebec has been discussed on various occasions during the last fifty years. In 1890 the St. Jean Baptiste Society resolved to carry out the project in earnest. A meeting of citizens was called to undertake the work, and a committee was appointed with the Hon. Judge Chauvean as chairman. Subscription lists were opened, and in less than two years the sum of \$17,000 had been obtained. The committee decided, however, that at least \$30,000 would be required for a monument worthy of Quebec and of its Founder.

On the 20th of February, 1895, the site of the future monument was chosen, and the committee, through the newspapers, called for plans and specifications and for tenders for the monument. Fourteen plaster casts and eleven drawings were examined by a jury, who chose the design submitted by Messrs. Chevré and LeCardonnel, the former a sculptor, and the latter an architect, of Paris. The contract was signed on the 23rd of May, 1896.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Work on the foundation was begun about the 15th of June, 1898. All the materials were brought from France. The steps are of granite from the Vosges, and the pedestal of stone from Chateau Landon. Champlain stands on the summit, hat in hand, saluting the soil of Canada. The statue is 14 feet 9 inches high and weighs 6927 lbs. On the pedestal is a bas-relief in bronze of superb appearance : a woman representing the city, enters on a tablet the works of the founder ; on her right the genius of navigation, in the form of a child, recalls the fact that Champlain was a sailor before he was a governor ; above this group Fame, with outspread wings and a trumpet, proclaims the glory of the great Frenchman and seems to call upon young French Canadians to follow in his footsteps.

In the distance may be seen the outline of the cathedral of Quebec, surmounted by a cross. Several cartouches with the arms of Canada, of Quebec, and of Brouage, Champlain's native city, complete the monument.

The inscription is as follows :—

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN  
NÉ A BROUAGE EN SAINTONGE, VERS 1567 ;  
SERVIT A L'ARMÉE SOUS HENRI IV  
EN QUALITÉ DE MARÉCHAL DES LOGIS ;  
EXPLORA LES INDÉS OCCIDENTALES DE  
1569 A 1601,  
L'ACADIE DE 1604 A 1607 ;  
FONDA QUÉBEC EN 1608 ;

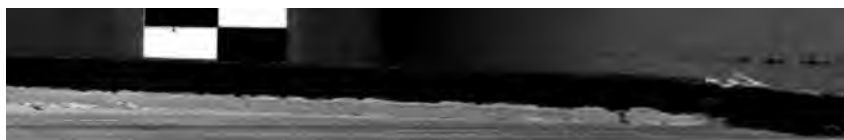


## MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC

DÉCOUVRIT LE PAYS DES GRANDS LACS ;  
COMMANDA PLUSIEURS EXPÉDITIONS  
CONTRE LES IROQUIOIS  
DE 1609 A 1615 ;  
FUT SUCCESSIVEMENT LIEUTENANT-GOUVERNEUR  
ET GOUVERNEUR DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE,  
ET MOURUT A QUÉBEC, LE 25 DÉCEMBRE, 1635.

The bronze statue was placed on its pedestal on the 1st August, 1898, but the installation was completed only on the 20th September, the day before the inauguration. The statue was unveiled by His Excellency, Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, in the presence of 50,000 persons. Amongst the most notable personages were : Admiral Sir John Fisher, General Lord Seymour, Lieutenant-Governor Jetté, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Lord Herschell, Sir R. Cartwright, Sir L. Davis, Mgr. Marois, M. Kleczkowski, Consul-General of France, Hon. Mr. Marchand, Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec and the members of the Cabinet, Honourable Judge Routhier, and all the members of the Monument Committee, including Mgr. Laflamme, Mgr. Gagnon, Hon. P. Garneau, Mr. S. Le Sage, Mr. H. M. Price, Mr. F. X. Berlinguet, Mr. Ernest Gagnon, Hon. Mr. Chapais, Dr. N. E. Dionne, Mr. A. Evanturel, Mr. G. E. Tanguay, Mr. L. Brunet and Mr. A. Talbot.

The St. Jean Baptiste Society took this opportunity to celebrate the national festival of the French-Canadians. The celebration began with a solemn High Mass in the Basilica. A magnificent procession defiled



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

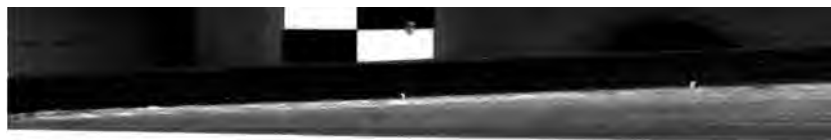
through the principal streets of the city, with banners and bands. A grand banquet crowned all and gave our best orators an opportunity of making patriotic speeches in which Champlain's name was repeated more than once and was always received with applause.

Its work over, the Committee handed to the city a sum of \$500.00, which remained in its hands after paying all expenses, and requested the Mayor and citizens to take possession of the monument and assume its maintenance. On the 10th February, 1899, the city passed a resolution to that effect, and the city of Quebec now owns the monument and is bound to preserve it.

### THE MONUMENT TO FATHER MASSÉ

This monument is erected at Sillery on the very spot where stood the first chapel built by the Commandeur de Sillery, in memory of Father Ennemond Massé, the first Jesuit missionary who labored in that mission, called the St. Joseph Mission. It was inaugurated on the 26th of June, 1870, in the presence of the parishioners of Sillery and of several notable personages of Quebec. Speeches were made by Vicar-General Cazeau, Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, and Mr. R. R. Dobell.

The monument occupies a very pretty site. It consists of a column in the shape of an obelisk of cut stone, twenty feet high and surmounted by a white marble cross. The column stands on a white brick vault containing the remains of Father Massé. It is



### MONUMENTS OF QUEBEC

surrounded by a palisade with a black walnut gate. Inside the palisade, stone posts with chains indicate the outline of the main nave and sanctuary of St. Michæl's church. On two faces of the monument are two inscriptions in French which are repeated in English on the two other faces, as follows :

THE INHABITANTS OF SILLERY  
HAVE ERECTED THIS MONUMENT  
TO THE MEMORY OF  
PIERRE ENNEMOND MASSÉ, S J.  
FIRST MISSIONARY IN CANADA  
BURIED IN 1646  
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHEL  
ON THE DOMAIN OF  
SAINT-JOSEPH OF SILLERY

---

THE CHURCH OF SAINT MICHEL  
WHICH FORMERLY STOOD ON THIS SPOT  
WAS BUILT BY  
THE COMMANDER OF SILLERY,  
FOUNDER IN 1637, OF THE  
SAINT JOSEPH DOMAIN.

### THE SHORT-WALLICK MONUMENT

On the 16th May, 1889, St. Sauveur suburbs were devastated by fire which threatened to destroy the entire ward. Several hundred houses, mostly of wood, had already been burned, when the soldiers thought that the only way to arrest the progress of the destroying element would be to blow up some buildings. Barrels of gun-powder were prepared for the purpose, and Major Short of the Royal Canadian Artillery, with a



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

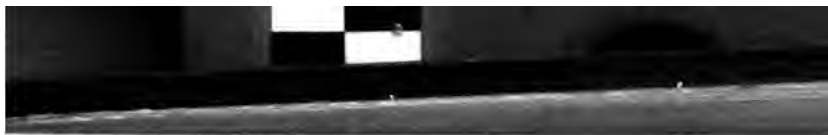
sergeant of the same corps, approached the flames too closely with the dangerous burden, and became the victims of their bravery. It is supposed that a spark must have set fire to one of the barrels. In any case a terrible explosion suddenly occurred and the bodies of both were blown into space. When found they were nothing but disfigured corpses.

Moved by this double death and desirous also of expressing their gratitude to these two heroes of charity, the citizens of Quebec contributed to the erection of a monument to their memory. When it became necessary to choose a site, some wished to place it on the spot where the tragedy had occurred, but after mature consideration, the committee of citizens decided to place it where it now stands on the grounds of the Drill Hall, close to the Grande Allée.

### THE MONUMENT TO QUEEN VICTORIA

This excellent bronze, which surmounts a stone pedestal designed by Mr. Taché, I. S. O., is placed towards the centre of Victoria Park, on the banks of the river St. Charles. The statue is the work of Marshall Wood, who offered it to the government for the sum of \$20,000.

For some years the statue was lying in Dufferin Avenue, but finally the Hon. Mr. Parent purchased it for the sum of \$1,700, and placed it in its present position. The statue was unveiled by Lord Aberdeen in the year 1897.



## CHAPTER XVI

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1639-1903

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### HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

GENERAL HOSPITAL,—HOTEL-DIEU DU PRÉCIEUX SANG  
—HOTEL-DIEU DU SACRÉ-CŒUR—JEFFREY HALE  
HOSPITAL—GOOD SHEPHERD ASYLUM—SISTERS  
OF CHARITY—ST. ANTOINE ASYLUM—ST. BRID-  
GET'S ASYLUM

**O**N the 13th of September, 1692, Mgr. de Saint Vallier bought the convent of the Recollets on the bank of the River St. Charles and a little later gave it to some nuns of the Hotel Dieu who were chosen to found a General Hospital. By the terms of the contract the Recollets conveyed to the bishop one hundred and six arpents of land, their church and convent of Notre Dame des Anges, consisting of a cloister of seven or eight arcades on each side ; of a dormitory containing twenty-four cells, beneath which were the pantry, kitchen, refectory, and a vestibule, with cellars and garrets.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

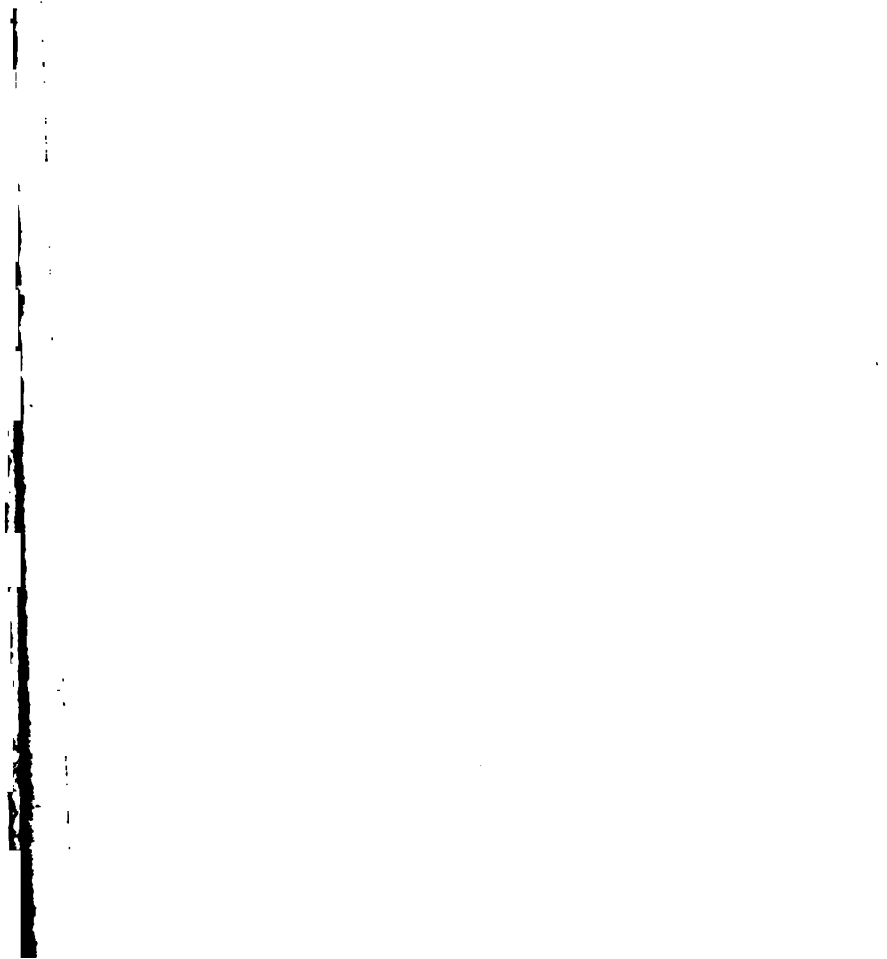
On the 30th of October of the same year, the poor people who had hitherto been kept in the house of Providence in the upper town, were transferred to this building, which was to be the refuge of the homeless and friendless poor. On the 1st of April, 1693, four hospitalières nuns took possession of the new hospital, which soon had forty-two inmates.

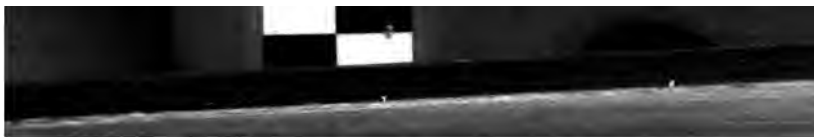
In 1710 and 1711 two wings were added to the former buildings, thanks always to the care of Mgr. de Saint Vallier, who spared no expense in connection with a work in which he took a deep interest. Some years afterwards, Father Charlevoix wrote: "The General Hospital is the finest house in Canada, and would be no discredit to our largest cities in France.

In 1736 the nuns decided to receive in the hospital discharged soldiers unfit for service, and built a wing one hundred and twenty feet long. The foundations were commenced in the following spring, and the corner stone was solemnly laid on the 6th of June.

In 1743, a new building, one hundred and fifty feet long, by forty-four in width was begun to the west of the building commenced in 1736. The hospital having become too small, the nuns were compelled to open a ward, on the spot where the former dormitory of the Recollets stood. The narrow cells of the Recollet Fathers disappeared, and with them the antique character of the monastery of Notre Dame des Anges, which until then could be considered the oldest religious monument of New France.







## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

In 1850, a considerable amount of work was done towards embellishing the building. Nine years later the Hospitalières nuns had a wing built on the site of the old asylum for the insane. Until the Beauport Asylum was opened on the 12th of September, 1845, the General Hospital took charge of the insane.

The General Hospital is one of the most interesting convents, historically speaking. Whenever it became necessary to succour the unfortunate, of whatever nationality, either in times of epidemic or in time of war, the Hospital opened its doors to all in need of medical care. After the siege of Quebec, in 1759, the wounded of the English army were received with the same charity as the French. The wounded soldiers of Arnold and Montgomery were also as carefully attended to as if they had been in a Boston hospital.

Four bishops and more than sixty priests have been taken there to die, as the surest retreat, feeling nearer to God and heaven there than anywhere else.

At present the staff of the Hospital consists of 50 nuns, 2 novices, 19 lay sisters, 4 postulant nuns and 4 postulant lay sisters. The number of poor inmates varies from 200 to 230. There are also six priests and six old lady boarders.

The sacristy of the chapel contains an *Ecce Homo* which is admitted by connoisseurs to be a master-piece. Unfortunately the name of the painter is not known. The greater portion of the treasures of the church date from the time of Mgr. de Saint Vallier and consist of a chalice, altar-cruets, censer and candle-sticks of silver,

1947-1948

1948-1949

1949-1950

1950-1951

1951-1952

1952-1953

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1980-1981

1981-1982

*Hotel Dine.*







## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

The medical service is irreproachable and is performed by a certain number of professors of Laval University.

The convent chapel, the entrance to which is on Charlevoix street, is old, and contains several mural tablets, and master-pieces by artists such as Lesueur, the French Raphael, Coypel and Stella.

In the Hotel Dieu there are several souvenirs of a by-gone age which are carefully preserved ; besides relics of the first Canadian martyrs. Amongst other treasures may be mentioned a silver gilt chalice, richly chiseled, and of older date than the foundation of the hospital ; a ciborium, two silver-gilt altar cruets with stand, and a silver censer given by M. Dannemarche, cousin of Mother Jeanne Suppli de Sainte Marie, who died in 1641 in the monastery of Sillery ; a silver lamp suspended in front of the main altar, given to the Hotel Dieu by M. de Courcelles, Governor of New France, and bearing his arms. There is also a silver bust representing Father de Brébeuf who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Iroquois, but the origin of the bust is unknown. The bust stands upon an ebony pedestal containing the skull of Father de Brébeuf. This relic was brought to the Hotel Dieu by the Hurons, when the tribe came to Quebec. Another reliquary contains the two thigh-bones of Father Gabriel Lalemant, a Jesuit, who was Father de Brébeuf's companion in martyrdom ; a very rich reliquary containing the skull and bones of Mother Catherine de Longprey of St. Augustin, an Augustine nun who died in the



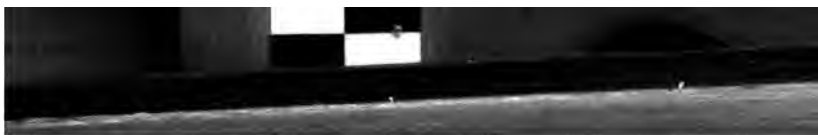
### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

odour of sanctity at the Hotel Dieu on the 8th of May, 1668, at the age of 36, after having edified Canada for twenty years by the nobility of her virtuous life. Two reliquaries containing bones of the martyrs of Montmartre sent from France in 1640 by Madame de Beauvilliers, abbess of the Benedictine nuns, whose monastery stood on the very spot where now stands the Basilica of the Sacred Heart, on the *butte Montmartre*, in Paris.

Amongst several remarkable and very rare pictures, some of which date back to 1640, preserved in the Hotel Dieu, are a *Crucifixion*, by Van Dyke ; a *Christmas night* by Stella, given by Mgr. Dosquet ; a *Presentation of Mary in the Temple*, by Lebrun ; a *Visitation*, by Rubens, on copper, given by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon ; a *St. Francis of Assisi*, by Zurbaran ; the *Martyrs of the Society of Jesus in Canada* ; a very fine tapestry in two pieces one of which is the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, and the other, the *Adoration of the Magi*, given by Mr. Dan-nemarche ; portraits of Louis XIV, the Intendant Talon, Louis XV, Marie Leckzinska ; Fathers Rague-neau and Charlevoix ; Mother Bénigne Thérèse de Jésus, a carmelite, daughter of M. de Denonville, Governor of New France ; Mother St. Augustin ; Mother St. Ignace, annalist of the Hotel Dieu and the first Canadian superioress of the institution.

Amongst the engravings are those of Father Le Jeune, Cardinal Richelieu and the Duchesse d'Aiguillon.

The archives of the Hotel Dieu are very precious. They contain a number of old plans and other manu-



## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

script documents, such as deeds of purchase, of sale, of exchange, of immoveables, several of which bear the signature of a governor or intendant with his arms on the seal ; deeds of gift, inventories, wills and even contracts of marriage of various persons interested in the affairs of the Hotel Dieu ; very old letters, amongst others one from St. Francis de Sales, another from St. Vincent de Paul, from Talon, Montcalm, Mgr. de Pontbriand ; Vaudreuil, Bigot, Maisonneuve, Madame D'Ailleboust ; Father F. X. Duplessis ; the registers of the entry, discharge or death, of all the patients admitted to the Hotel Dieu since 1689, with the place of their birth ; the registers of the patients who died in the hospital and were buried in the Cemetery of the Poor from 1723 to 1867 ; the manuscript Annals of the Hotel Dieu by Mother Marie Andrée Duplessis de Ste Hélène, under the direction of Mother Jeanne Françoise Juchereau de St. Ignace ; six volumes of the sermons of M. Joseph de la Colombière, brother of the celebrated Jesuit Father Claude de la Colombière.

Many of the original documents, especially of those relating to the Siege of Quebec in 1759, were kindly lent by Mother Saint André in 1902, for an exhibition in the Franciscan Convent.

Three hundred and eight nuns and 85 lay sisters have lived in the Hotel Dieu du Précieux Sang since its foundation. Of this number, 17 nuns were supplied from 1639 to 1670, both by the house in Dieppe and by the French communities which issued from it. Three nuns returned to France, being unable to stand the

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

rigours of hospital life in Canada ; four sisters died in the General Hospital, two of whom were foundresses and two auxiliaries. Three nuns and a lay-sister are now in the Hotel Dieu of Levis, which they founded in 1892 ; 64 nuns and 19 lay-sisters are now living in the Hotel Dieu.

### HOTEL-DIEU DU SACRÉ CŒUR

As the General Hospital was an off-shoot from the Hotel-Dieu du Précieux Sang, so is the Hotel Dieu an off-shoot of the General Hospital. Its foundation in the year 1873, is due to the efforts of the Archbishop of Quebec, nobly assisted by Chevalier Falardeau, notary, who was its temporal founder.

The object of this institution is wholly charitable, and is devoted to the care of foundlings and of infirm old people.

The staff of the monastery at present, is as follows :

Professed Nuns.....	38
Novices.....	11
Lay Sisters.....	19
Patients .....	146
Children.....	40
Boarders.....	17

The community, being still a young one, has not accumulated many paintings, engravings or books. Nevertheless it possesses a memento of the old Jesuit



## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

church under the French régime, consisting of sixteen statues of wood, painted a bronze colour, representing the twelve Apostles, St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Francis Xavier. They are said to have been carved by a lay brother of the Society of Jesus.

The Hotel-Dieu also has a picture in relief of the crucifixion of Our Lord between two thieves. This picture was found in the attic of the Basilica by Mr. Regali, a statuary of Quebec. There is also a picture of the birth of Our Lord, that came from the gallery of Lord Metcalfe, a former governor of Canada.

The principal business carried on by the community is the cultivation of plants and flowers, the manufacture of mass-wine and wafers ; and laundrying for outside persons, and sewing.

### THE JEFFREY HALE HOSPITAL

This hospital was founded in 1865 through the liberality of Mr. Jeffrey Hale, who gave a portion of the money required to purchase a ground and hospital for the Protestant sick. In the month of December, 1865, a property was bought situated on the edge of the cliff overlooking St. Roch suburbs, at the corner of Richelieu and Glacis streets. This hospital was opened in 1867 and remained open until 1901. Shortly before that date the authorities of the Jeffrey Hale Hospital had found that they had not sufficient room for their patients, and had purchased from the nuns of the Hotel Dieu an extensive piece of ground between Claire

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Fontaine and de Salaberry streets, on which they erected a new building on the most modern plan, with a special department for contagious diseases. A generous legacy of \$150,000 from the Hon. James Gibb Ross was of great assistance in enabling the governors to attain their object.

The present Jeffrey Hale Hospital is a splendid brick building whose shape greatly resembles a Maltese cross. Its dimensions are 142 feet by 34. The arms of the cross are 66 feet by 45. The building is four stories high, with a basement. It can easily accommodate 60 patients apart from the paying patients.

The administration is in the hands of six governors elected yearly. The actual president is Mr. J. Theodore Ross.

Jeffrey Hale whose name is given to the hospital, was born in Quebec in 1803 and died in England in 1864. He was a man of high character and great liberality. He founded the Quebec Provident Savings Bank, which on several occasions gave sums of money to the religious institutions in Quebec, both Catholic and Protestant.

## ASYLUM OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD

This asylum dates from the 11th of January, 1850. The first Asylum, on Richelieu street, was only of a temporary nature, for in the month of October of the same year, the St. Vincent de Paul Society assisted by the Chevalier Muir and Mr. Cazeau purchased a house on Lachevrotière street, which, for four years served the purpose of the foundress, Madame Roy.

## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

In 1854, the Asylum of the Good Shepherd was built on the same street, the house being 72 feet by 55. Six years later the building on St. Amable street, called after the Holy Family, was added to the others. The corner-stone of the chapel was laid on the 2nd of July, 1867, and it was opened for worship on the 28th of May, 1868. The St. Magdalen building, on Lachevrotière street, was erected in 1876. The building dedicated to Notre Dame de Toutes Grâces, on the corner of Berthelot and St. Amable streets, and the St. Joseph Building on Berthelot street, date from 1899.

The St. Louis Academy was opened in 1892. The St. Jean Berchman's School, purchased in 1890, in which at first only little girls were taught, was opened as a school for little boys in 1901. The school belonging to the School Board dates from 1900.

The St. Louis Academy was inaugurated with the view of obtaining additional resources for the main work of the Good Shepherd convent; providing a home for young women of dissolute life. This Academy is under the exclusive control of the community and the course of study laid down by the Council of Public Instruction is followed. At the present time 140 pupils attend the Academy.

The Good Shepherd school dates from the 7th of January, 1851. As soon as it was opened, it received the support of a friend of education, Mr. Jacques Crémazie, who spared no sacrifice for it. He may justly be considered as the founder of this school.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

In 1880, the Council of Public Instruction conferred the title of Academy on the Good Shepherd school.

The Good Shepherd community has charge of the St. Charles Asylum and the Lying-in Hospital. The former is a reformatory and industrial school for girls. It occupies the old Marine Hospital, which the nuns purchased from the Federal Government in 1891. The staff consists of a chaplain, and 16 nuns, and there are 221 children under their charge.

Thirteen nuns have charge of the Lying-in Hospital, on Couillard street. The Asylum of the Holy Angels is an annex to the latter.

The staff of the Good Shepherd community is as follows :—

Nuns.....	221
Lay-Sisters.....	58
Novices.....	56
<hr/>	
Total.....	335

The number of penitents at the present time is 150, but the number varies, and is generally greater, than less.

### ASYLUM OF THE SISTERS OF CHARITY

The asylum of the Sisters of Charity was founded in 1848, by Mgr. C. F. Turgeon, Archbishop of Quebec, by means of collections and subscriptions throughout the diocese.

## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

Poor as it has always been, the community of the Sisters of Charity, or Grey Nuns, has, by the exercise of perseverance, succeeded in carrying out and developing its work, morally and materially, in a marvelous manner. Twenty-five years ago the convent staff consisted of 65 nuns and 24 novices ; at present that number has doubled, without including those sent to the country missions.

The number of inmates at present is :

Nuns.....	130
Novices.....	67
Lay nuns.....	137
Orphans of both sexes.....	397
Lady boarders.....	2
Infirm old women.....	84
Children in the asylum rooms....	152
Out-door pupils.....	1,579

At the asylum of St. Louis de Gonzague there are 5 priests, 172 boy boarders and half-boarders, and 25 old men.

The Sisters of Charity have charge of the Asylum of St. Michael the Archangel, at la Canardière, on the Beauport road. The inmates are : 4 physicians, 36 nuns, 54 lay-sisters, 12 female keepers, 37 male keepers and porters, 31 mechanics, tradesmen and others ; 570 male patients, 10 boarders ; 485 female patients and 13 boarders.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Moreover, the Sisters of Charity have charge of the St. Antoine Asylum of St. Roch, and St. Bridget's Asylum on Grande Allée.

The archives of the convent, since its foundation, are contained in two enormous volumes, besides ten volumes of Annals, or the History of the Institute.

The library contains 6,121 well selected volumes.

### ST. ANTOINE ASYLUM

On the 28th of October, 1897, the *Cerle Catholique* of Quebec handed over to the archiepiscopal corporation the handsome building owned by it on St. Francis street. On the 25th of March, 1898, that corporation transferred the property to the pastor of St. Roch, who had obtained an act of incorporation from the Legislature on the 15th of January previous. The object of this foundation is to care for the old people of the parish. On the very day the asylum was opened 8 old men and 16 old women were comfortably installed in suitable apartments. Soon afterwards the building became too small to accommodate the number of applicants. The parish priest at once resolved to add a wing to the old building. This was begun on the 26th of July, 1900, and finished in 1901, the cost being \$26,950, which was collected by means of subscriptions. On the 9th of May, 1901, Archbishop Bégin blessed the building and presided at a banquet at which many priests and citizens were present, as well as the aged inmates of the asylum.

## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

Eleven Sisters of the Grey nuns are in charge of this asylum, which at present has a hundred and four inmates. It has no private revenues and relies on public charity for its support ; so far the latter has not failed it.

### ST. BRIDGET'S ASYLUM ASSOCIATION

This Association which perpetuates the name of the famous Abbess of Kildare, may be considered to date from the spring of 1856, when a few of the non-commissioned officers of the regiments of the line stationed in the garrison, collected the sum of seventeen pounds, which they handed to the Reverend Father Nelligan, V.G., for the relief of the poor. This modest sum formed the nucleus of a fund for the establishment of a home for destitute children and orphans. Father McGauran continued the work commenced by Father Nelligan, and in December, 1856, a house was obtained nearly opposite the church, which for two years served as a home for children and an asylum for the aged and infirm. In 1858 this building was found to be too small for the growing needs of the parish, and a property was purchased on the St. Louis Road upon which the present building now stands. There was a stone building upon the grounds 60 feet by 40 which was fitted up to meet the requirements of the Association. Two years later the members of the Congregation of St. Patrick's who had carried out this charitable work, sought incorporation, and on the 19th of May, 1860, Sir Edmund Head assented to an Act, the preamble of which read as follows :—

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“ Whereas an Association has been formed in the city of Quebec for the purpose of providing for the maintenance of aged and infirm persons ;

“ And whereas the said Association has established an Asylum for destitute orphans and immigrants, and has also in contemplation the establishing of an hospital where medical aid and attendance may be offered to the indigent ;

“ And whereas certain members of the said Association and others interested in its welfare, have, by their petition, represented that the said Association would be more efficient by giving to it the character of a corporation ;

“ Therefore, Her Majesty, &c., enacts as follows :

“ The Reverend Bernard McGauran, Henry O'Connor, Thomas J. Murphy, Maurice O'Leary, John Lane, jr., John Baxter, Patrick Shee, Wm. Quinn, E. O'Doherty, M. J. O'Doherty, J. C. Nolan, Jas. Murphy, J. Lilly, J. Magee, J. Flanagan, J. Thomas, J. Lane, sr., T. Morgan, P. Lawlor, J. Teaffe, T. M. Quigley, Hon. C. Alleyn, M. Kelly, T. McGreevy, W. Kirwin, E. Quinn, J. Quinn, M. Cavanagh, M. Cullen, M. A. Hearn, R. McGreevy, M. F. Walsh, H. Martin, G. Smith, J. O'Leary, Sergeant Walsh, R. W. Behan, G. W. Colfer, D. Carey, E. G. Cannon, M. Enright, J. Archer, G. Neilan, J. M. Jordan, M. Connolly, A. McDonnell, H. Devlin, M. Dunn, J. Ryan, J. Kindelin, J. O'Kane, T. Malone, J. B. O'Doherty, P. O. O'Doherty, J. O'Reilly, G. McGlynn, J. Enright, P. Hanning, J. O'Brien, P. Teaffe, J. Cook, J. Sharples, J. P. O'Meara, N. Lee, W. Nolan, D. O'Sullivan, P. McMahon, P. Wlash. W. Scanlan, M. Lynch, J. O'Donovan, W. Hannon, C. Gilbride, D. Malone, L. Stafford, J. Reid, R. Alleyn, E. Teaffe and the chaplain for the time being of the Catholics of

## HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

Quebec speaking the English language, and all others who may be from time to time, elected members of the said Association, and who shall continue to be members by the observance of the Rules and By-laws which may be framed in that behalf, shall be, and are hereby constituted and made a body politic and corporate by the name of St. Bridget's Asylum Association.'

In 1866, a new wing was commenced at a cost of \$26,000, which was completed in 1873, and various additions have since been made.

In the year 1870, the Act of Incorporation was amended, by which the property, real or personal, then held by the Association, was transferred and vested in five trustees, four of whom were to be laymen residing in the district of Quebec, and the fifth, the Chaplain, for the time being. The first trustees were to be elected by the Chaplain for a term of five years, and afterwards the trustees were to be elected by the members of the Association.

St. Bridget's Asylum Association has accomplished much good work, and it heartily deserves all the encouragement necessary to enable it to extend, to the utmost, its sphere of usefulness. The Grey Nuns attend to the Asylum, and at present there are 9 professed nuns and 8 lay sisters attached to the Asylum. In August, 1903, there were twenty-five old men and fifty-six old women provided for in the Asylum, and there were thirty-nine boys and fifty girls in the orphans branch.

Mr. Edward Foley is the Secretary of the Association.







*Parliament  
Harwich, Essex*







## CHAPTER XVII

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1700-1908

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### PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PLACES OF INTEREST

THE LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS ( ) — THE HOTEL DE VILLE  
— THE PRISON — THE INTENDANT'S PALACE —  
THE SENECHAL'S COURT — THE COURT HOUSE —  
LAVAL NORMAL SCHOOL — QUEBEC GARRISON CLUB  
— THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC — THE ARCH-  
BISHOP'S PALACE — THE QUEBEC SEMINARY —  
LAVAL UNIVERSITY — BEAUVOIR MANOR —  
SPENCER GRANGE — MONTMORENCY

**T**HE grounds on which the Parliament Buildings are erected, formed a part of the old Fief St. François, which was conceded to Jean Bourdon by the company of New France on the 16th of March, 1646.

The area of the ground occupied by the Legislative and Departmental buildings is 251,763 square feet, and that of Fountain Avenue, 18,000 square feet, making a total of 269,763 square feet.

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(1) The data for these notes is taken from "Le Palais Legislatif" by Ernest Gagnon, F.R.S.C., Secretary of the Department of Public Works.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The green sandstone used in the basement was taken from the Levis quarries. The stone of the facing of the outer walls from Deschambault, and the stone used for the facing of the Court yard came from Murray Bay and Terrebonne.

The total cost of the buildings, including the purchase of the ground, the statues and the embellishment of the surrounding grounds, was \$1,669,249.16. Two accidents increased the cost of construction. First, the destruction of the old Parliament Building, near the Archbishop's Palace in April, 1883, which rendered it necessary to construct a temporary chamber, within the building in progress, for the use of the approaching session of the Legislature, and the double dynamite explosion caused by wanton hands in October, 1884, which necessitated the rebuilding of a portion of the edifice.

The building is of quadrangular form with an inner court yard. The face of each building is 300 feet in length. The building facing Dufferin Avenue is occupied by the Legislative Council and by the Legislative Assembly, the minimum width of this portion is 60 feet, and the maximum 107 ½ feet. The height of the walls from the soil to the cornice is 60 feet, the roof rising 17 feet above.

The tower of the campanile is 153 feet in height, but the crest surmounted by an iron crown is 19 feet above, making the total height from the ground to the summit, 172 feet.



## PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

The three sides of the building occupied by the Public Departments have a minimum depth of  $47\frac{1}{2}$  feet and a maximum width of  $57\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The outer walls to the cornice have the same height as those of the main front, 60 feet and 103 feet to the top of the roof.

The whole building has a basement, a ground floor of rustic quoins, and two other stories separated by a continuous belt-course and surmounted by a large Ionic entablature.

A mansard roof, covered with galvanized iron, with ornaments in zinc, completes the exterior of the building.

The main front is remarkable for the fine proportions of its central tower, dedicated to Jacques Cartier ; by the purity of the lines of the fore parts added to this tower dedicated, one, to Champlain, and the other to Maisonneuve ; by the elegance of the pavilions at the angles, and by the ornamentation in its entirety.

The niches in the masonry of the front of the Campanile are to contain statues of Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of Canada ; of Champlain, the founder of Quebec ; of Maisonneuve, the founder of Montreal ; of Lavolette, the founder of Three Rivers ; of Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers ; of Father Brébeuf, Jesuit ; of Father Viel, Recollet ; of Mgr. de Montmorency-Laval ; of M. Olier, founder of the Society of St. Sulpitius. The niches already filled contain the statues of Wolfe, Montcalm, Frontenac, Levis, Lord Elgin, and de Salaberry, the hero of Chateaugay.



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

the first and then to the second story multiplying their vaired and graceful designs and surrounding the arms of personages chiefly belonging to a more recent period : Saint Vallier, Pontbriand, Beauharnois, La Galissonnière, La Jonquière, Longueuil, Coulon de Villiers, Ramezay, Townshend, Amherst, Quesnel, Vallières, Sewell, Stuart, Panet, Baby, Taschereau, Bédard, de Léry, Lotbinière, Parent, Nelson, Lanaudière, Boucherville, Viger, Cuvillier, St. Ours, Bourdages, Plessis, Mountain, Blanchet, Laforce, Lartigue, Bourget, Rollette, Dambourgès, Duchesnay, De Gaspé, etc.

At the back of the top most flight of the main staircase, surrounded by abundant palms encrusted with gold on the wainscoting shine forth the monogramme of the Society of Jesus and the names of some of the Jesuit missionaries whose blood moistened and rendered fruitful the thenceforth Christian soil of Canada and North America ; Jogues, Lalemant, Rasle, Buteux, Garnier.

To the right are the names of the first historians of New France : Sagard, Lescarbot, Ducreux, Charlevoix ; to the left those of modern historians and historiographers : Garneau, Ferland, Christie, Bouchette.

The chamber of the Legislative Council and that of the Legislative Assembly are of the same dimensions : 67 feet long 50 wide and 33 high.

Each of the four angle pavilions has an entrance of smaller proportions with Ionic pilaster, consoles, cornices and cartouches on which are carved the arms of the province.



#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

Work was begun in 1877 and the various public departments were installed at the end of the year 1880.

The architect of the building was Mr. Eugène Taché, I. S. O., and the work was carried out by Mr. P. Gauvreau and Mr. J. B. Derome, Government Engineers.

The foundations of the main building were laid in 1881. The corner stone which was laid on the 17th June, 1884, by His Honour, Lieutenant Governor Robitaille, is at the foot of one of the side pillars of the main entrance, on the left side.

The grounds have been very tastefully laid out under the direction of Mr. Chollet, the gardener of Spencer Wood, and during the summer months they are very attractive.

In the ground, adjoining the walls of the city, specimens of various kinds of Canadian trees have been planted, which in the course of time, when they come to maturity, will prove both ornamental and instructive.

#### THE HOTEL DE VILLE

The present City Hall stands on the grounds of the old Jesuit College. The college was afterwards occupied as a Barracks, and for many years it was known as the Jesuits Barracks. In the month of November 1889, a portion of the ground was purchased for civic buildings, the old city Hall being then on St. Louis St. The corner stone of the new building was laid on the 13th of August, 1895, and the opening

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

ceremony took place on the 19th of September 1896, His Worship Mayor Parent, presiding. The total cost of the new city Hall was about \$150,000.

The building is of an imposing and substantial character, and the surrounding grounds are well laid out. There is a fine chamber for the meetings of the council, and large reception rooms and spacious offices for all the requirements of the civic administration.

## THE PRISON

The oldest prison of Quebec stood on the grounds belonging to the family of de Bécancour, near Fort St. Louis, on the corner of St. Louis and des Carrières streets, nearly opposite the main entrance to the courtyard of the Chateau Frontenac.

In the latter years of the French régime the public prison was situated in rear of the Palace of the Intendant, near the river St. Charles, at the place commonly called "the fuel-yard."

In 1784 vacant rooms in the Recollets convent served as a temporary prison. When the convent was burned, the prisoners were kept in buildings adjoining the Artillery Barracks, near Palace Hill.

In 1810 the building of a prison was begun on the piece of ground between St. Stanislas, Dauphine and Ste. Angèle streets: this prison was inaugurated in 1814 and was used until 1867. It is now Morrin College.

The main door on St. Stanislas street was removed, and replaced by a new one. Above it was the following inscription:

PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

A. D

MDCCX

L. A. REG. GEORGIO III

PROV. GUB. D. D. J. H. CRAIG, BL. EQT.

CARCER ISTE BONOS A PRAVIS

VINDICARE POSSIT.

The ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the present prison, near Grande Allée, took place on the 4th September, 1861. Hon. Joseph Cauchon, then Commissioner of Public Works, officiated in the presence of Mr. J. H. Pope, mayor of Quebec, of Hon. U. J. Tessier, Legislative Councillor, and Mr. Hector Langevin, member of the Legislative Assembly, by whom speeches were made at the banquet after the ceremony.

Work was begun in the same year and resumed in 1864, but it was not completed until 1867. The edifice consists of a main building 88 feet by 50, three stories high, with a basement; of a wing at right angles to the latter, in which are the cells, being two stories high with a basement 108 feet long by 47 deep; of a wing on the east side of the latter, two stories high 21 feet by 26; of a south wing, in rear of the central part 66 feet by 40 in which is the prisoners' chapel.

The sheriff took possession of the building on the 1st June, 1867, in accordance with a proclamation dated the 12th May previous.

THE INTENDANT'S PALACE

When Talon filled the office of Intendant, he had a brewery built at the *Palais*, which was finished in

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

1671. This industry, quite a new one in the country, did not prove as profitable as expected. Thereupon the Intendant made it his residence, and the Superior Council held its sittings there. The council, when first established, held its sittings in a house called the "Palais" at the corner of the Place d'Armes and St. Louis street, on the very spot, in fact, where the present court house stands.

Talon's brewery was destroyed by fire in the night of the 5th and 6th January, 1713. On its ruin was erected the splendid building of the Intendant's Palace, of which Kalm and Charlevoix speak in terms of admiration. In this palace justice was administered in Quebec during the last years of the French domination. It was almost entirely demolished during the siege of 1759. At the present day a large brewery stands on the ruins of the Intendant's Palace, which has restored to the building its former use.

## THE SENECHAL'S COURT

The first building in which the Senechal's court sat, was at the foot of Mont Carmel street, near the north east end of the present governor's garden. The court was afterwards transferred to a building erected on the site where the court house now stands. The ground now occupied by the court house and the Anglican Cathedral was given by Louis XIV to the Recollets in 1681, for the purpose of erecting an asylum. The missionaries established there a branch of their monastery of Notre

## PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

Dame des Anges and it was called "The convent of the Castle." This convent stood a short distance away, on the north east portion of the grounds now occupied by the Anglican Cathedral.

## THE COURT HOUSE

This splendid building, on the corner of St. Louis street and the Place d'Armes, was opened for the purposes of the administration of justice, by proclamation bearing date the 11th November, 1887, and inaugurated on the 21st December of the same year. The total superficies of the grounds is 46,777 feet.

The old Court House was destroyed by fire on the 1st February, 1873. In the interval the courts had sat in the old military hospital, in the rear of St. Louis street, where they continued to hold sessions for nearly fourteen years. The first Court House had been built, in 1804, on the site occupied by the dependencies of the old Recollet convent. Previous to that date, from the cession of the country, the courts were held in the Jesuits' College.

The new Court House is fire-proof ; its exterior, in the style of the renaissance, recalls the old chateaux built under Francis I. The main entrance, with the heraldic ornaments, is worthy of careful examination. The total cost of the building was \$940,759.00. It is beyond contradiction one of the finest and most solid buildings in Quebec. Nothing has been spared to make a durable monument of it. The specifications



### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

were drawn up by M. J. B. Dérome, then chief engineer of the Department of Public Works, from general plans drawn up by himself, and from plans of the exterior made by Mr. Eugène Taché.

### LAVAL NORMAL SCHOOL

Laval Normal School was inaugurated on the 12th May, 1857, in the Old Castle, or "Haldinand Castle."

The seat of Government at that time was not fixed : sometimes it was in Kingston, or Toronto, at others, in Montreal or Quebec. From 1860 to 1865, the Normal School was required for the use of the Public Departments. The classes were then held in the building now occupied by the Jesuits on Dauphine street. The school returned to the Old Castle in 1866 and remained there until 1892, when the old building was sold to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and demolished, giving place to the Chateau Frontenac.

The Normal School was then transferred to the boarding house of Laval University, in the spring of 1892, and remained there until 1900. It now occupies the property purchased from Mr. J. Theodore Ross on the St. Foye road, just outside the city limits. The Government paid \$9,000 for the property and has since added a wing for a chapel, and for the use of the pupils.

### QUEBEC GARRISON CLUB

We had occasion to remark in the first chapter of this book, that Quebec has been able to keep pace with



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the spirit of the times without finding it necessary to obliterate all traces of her past. The walls and the gates are no longer necessary for the purposes of defence but they serve to adorn the city, and in no way impede its traffic. Another instance is furnished in the Quebec Garrison Club. In an old engraving of Quebec, published in 1820, a long, dingy looking structure is shown on St. Louis Street, described as " Engineer's Office." It requires the exercise of the imagination to realise that this building formed a part of the attractive Club established in 1879. Such, however, is the case. At the time of the Dufferin improvements it was proposed to build the Club in the form of a Norman Chateau, and it is a matter of regret that the work was not carried out entirely in accordance with the plans prepared by Mr. E. E. Taché, I.S.O., Deputy Minister of Crown Lands. The building would then have formed one of the most pleasing features of the city. The modified plan is not without interest, but we prefer to give an engraving of the building as it would have appeared under Mr. Taché's plan, rather than of the building of to day.

The club was originally intended for the officers only, but in the course of time civilians were admitted to membership, and it is now the only club in the city.

The officers at the foundation in 1879, were :

*Patron* :—The Marquess of Lorne, K.T., Governor General.

*President* :—Lieut.-Col. Duchesnay, D.A.G.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

*Honorary Vice-President* :—Lieut.-Col. T. Bland Strange, R.A.

*Vice-President* :—Lieut.-Col. J. Bell Forsyth, Q. O.C.H.

*Treasurer* :—Lt. Col. Turnbull, Q.O.C.H.

*Secretary* :—Capt. Crawford Lindsay, Q.F.B.

*Committee* :—Lieut.-Col. Lamontagne ; Lieut.-Col. Montizambert, B. Batt, C.A. ; Lieut.-Col. F. Wood Gray, Q.O.C.H. ; Lt.-Col. J. B. Amyot, 9th Batt. ; Lieut.-Col. Baby, Q.F.B. ; Lieut.-Col. L. P. Vohl, 9th Batt. ; Lieut.-Col. R. Alleyn, 8th Batt. ; Lieut.-Col. W. H. Forest, D.P.M. ; Surgeon H. Neilson ; Capt. LeSueur, 8th Batt..

The *Quebec Morning Chronicle* of December 26th, 1881, gives this description of the building, but the writer was not, probably, acquainted with the fate of the " interesting records."

" The early history of the Royal Engineers' office in Quebec is interwoven not a little with our old system previous to responsible Government, when the commanding officer of Royal Engineers was a most important personage and second only in authority to the Governor-General himself who was also a military officer and commander-in-chief. In those days before the Crown Lands were vested in the Provincial Government, the C.R.E. sat at the land board in order to retain reserves for the Crown, or for military purposes, and in other ways to advise the Governor-General in such matters ; but unfortunately all the old and interesting records of that period were removed with the headquarters under

PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

" Sir John Oldfield, R.E., to Montreal in 1839 and  
" destroyed in the great fire of 1852."

" At a very early date after the conquest the R.E.  
" office was located in a wing of the Parliament House,  
" near Prescott Gate, and also in the old Chateau St.  
" Louis ; but upon the purchase of the present building  
" with the land attached at the foot of Citadel hill  
" from Archibald Ferguson, Esq., on the fifth of July,  
" 1819, removed thither and there remained as the  
" C.R.E. quarters until the withdrawal of the troops  
" a few years ago, in accordance with the change of  
" policy in England in regard to the Colonies, requiring  
" Colonel Hamilton, R.E., the last Imperial Com-  
" mandant of the garrison in 1871, to hand over to the  
" care of the Canadian Militia, whose pride it ever will  
" be to preserve and perpetuate the memories of the  
" army of worthies and statesmen who have sat and  
" worked within its walls."

All the records of the Engineers' Office were not destroyed by fire, as stated in this article. It was the custom of the Engineers, from the date of their first residence in Canada, to send most of the original documents to the War Office, and to retain copies in their office at Quebec. These copies were often made and signed by the makers of the originals. Through the kind assistance of the distinguished patron of the Garrison Club, His Excellency, the Earl of Minto, we recently had the privilege of examining hundreds of the plans and records made in the Engineers' Office in Quebec, and those that were preserved therein. Amongst these priceless records are the reports of the Governors,

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

and of Engineers and Officers, such as Murray, Carleton, Haldimand, Mackellar, Mann, Nicols, Twiss, Marr, By, Frome, and others. Although there is a very large collection of plans and records relating to every military post in Canada, the unrivalled collection of plans relating to Quebec is, of course, the most interesting to this city. The list of the plans and documents which we have seen and examined on several occasions during the past few months, is far too long to give in a work of this kind, but we may mention a number of special value: The original plan of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, bearing the signature of Mackellar; the original plan of the Battle of St. Foy, bearing the signature of the same officer; the original report of the condition of the fortifications of Quebec, in the handwriting of Mackellar, together with the plan of the city, which he prepared and signed, for the use of General Wolfe during the siege of Quebec. There is also a complete series of plans in manuscript, bearing the signatures of different engineers, showing all the works that were undertaken in Quebec from the year 1760 to about 1864, including the sections and elevations of the present works: the Martello Towers, the Forts at Levis, and plans and reports of all the Ordnance properties in Quebec and elsewhere.

It will be seen from these notes that a new interest is given to the Quebec Garrison Club, and that through the efforts of its Patron, students may still consult the work that was done within its walls in the days that are no more. It was real work that was accomplished

## PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

in those days, work which enables one to place much of the history of this city on a more enduring foundation than mere conjecture.

The staff of the Club in 1903 is as follows :—

*Patron* :—His Excellency, the Earl of Minto, Governor-General.

*Honorary President* :—Lieutenant-Colonel T. J. Duchesnay.

*President* :—Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar Pelletier, D. O. C.

*Vice-President* :—Mr. A. H. Cook, K. C.

*Secretary-Treasurer* :—Captain Wm. H. Petry, 8th Regiment Royal Rifles.

*Committee* :—Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. Turnbull, R.O., Lieutenant-Colonel Benson, R.C.A., Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. W. Turner, V.C., D.S.O., Commanding Q.O.C.H. ; Major F. M. Gaudet, R.C.A., Major Walter J. Ray, 8th Regiment Royal Rifles, Captain J. Geo. Garneau, R.O., Captain A. L. Panet, A.S.C., Hon. Chas. Langelier, K.C., Messrs. J. K. Boswell, Harcourt Smith, A. E. Doucet, H. E. Price and Murray Kennedy.

*Library-Committee* :—Major Ernest Wurtele, 18th Regt. Saguenay, Capt. R. J. Davidson, 8th Rgt. R. R.

## THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC

Many circumstances combine to give to the Chateau Frontenac a peculiar charm. Its imposing situation

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

and several manuscripts in the Micmac, Abenakis, Algonquin, Montagnais, Esquimaux and Outaouais languages.

Old souvenirs connected with personages of former days are preserved there, amongst others two pectoral crosses from Mgr de Laval, a gold watch of Mgr Plessis, another of Mgr Signay, a golden pectoral cross a souvenir of H. E. Cardinal Franchi.

## THE QUEBEC SEMINARY

The Quebec Seminary was opened, in 1658, in a house belonging to the widow of Guillaume Couillard, at the entrance to the garden. In 1678, the cornerstone was laid of the wing that faces the garden and the junior pupils' play-ground. It was only one story high, with attics. After the first fire, in 1701, a second story was added. When the building was restored after the conflagration, in 1866, that destroyed nearly one-half of this wing, a third story was added.

After 1701, the Seminary was enlarged so that at about the year 1714 the total length of the building was 350 feet.

At present, the minor Seminary proper, is nearly 700 feet in length.

The Greater Seminary, of recent construction, is a splendid wing, and gives hospitality to a hundred ecclesiastics or theological students, recruited in many dioceses. The priests of the institution also have their rooms there. A fine staircase of iron and stone, which





1905

1905-1906

1906-1907

1907-1908

1908-1909

1909-1910

1910-1911

1911-1912

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1939-1940

1940-1941

1941-1942

1942-1943



*Château Frontenac.*

UNIV  
20



#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

seems all of one piece, leads from the basement to the top of the building, and is much admired. The building is fire-proof and faces the garden and the rampart.

The personnel of the Seminary last year consisted of over 700 persons, as follows :—

Priests.....	38
Ecclesiastics.....	125
Pupil boarders.....	275
“ outside....	272
“ half-boarders.....	16
	<hr/>
	726

In 1800, the number barely reached 110; in 1870 it was only 430.

#### LAVAL UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1852 by the Seminary of Quebec at the request of the Bishops of the Province. The royal charter granted to it by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, was signed at Westminster on the 8th of December, 1852. Under this charter the Visitor of the University is the Archbishop of Quebec, and the Rector is the superior of the Seminary. The Council of the University consists of the Directors of the Seminary and of three senior professors of each faculty.

There are four faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine and Arts. The university degrees are those of Doctor, Licentiate or Master, and Bachelor.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

By a Bull of Pius IX dated the 15th of April 1876, Laval University received its canonical erection from Rome, with extensive privileges. Under this very important document, the University has for its protector at Rome, the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. Supervision and discipline, as regards faith and morals, are vested in a superior council, consisting of the Bishops of the Province with the Archbishop of Quebec as President. The Archbishop is the Chancellor of the University.

The museums of Laval University are very valuable and complete especially in the department of Physics, which contains over 1,000 instruments, including those connected with the most recent discoveries.

The mineralogical collection contains over 4,000 specimens ; the geological 2,000. The herbarium contains over 10,000 plants ; the ornithological collection consists of over 600 species collected in various parts of the world.

The entomological collection contains over 14,000 named species of insects ; the conchological collection over 950 species of Canadian and foreign molluscs, nearly all of which are named.

The ethnological museum, which is very interesting, consists of three divisions: 1. The Indian museum ; 2. the Chinese and Japanese museum, and 3. the General museum.

In the picture gallery there are several pictures by great masters, such as Teniers, Van Dyck, Lanfranc,

## PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

LeSueur, Salvator Rosa, Joseph Vernet, Tintoretto, Poussin, Albane, Puget, Lebrun.

The gallery proper contains 137 pictures but there is in the Hall of the Literary Course another splendid collection that belonged to Mgr Marois, V.G. Moreover the university and seminary contain a good many pictures and remarkable engravings, distributed through the rooms and corridors.

The numismatic museum contains over 3,000 coins and medals.

The library has 120,000 volumes ; it is open to visitors on certain days fixed by the regulations.

The staff of the University consists of the following :

Directors.....	15
Faculty of Theology.....	7
Faculty of Law.....	11
Faculty of Medicine.....	14
Faculty of Arts.....	21
Students in Theology.....	124
"    at Law.....	90
"    in Medicine.....	109
"    in Pharmacy.....	6
"    in Arts.....	22
Pupils of the Seminary following the Arts course.....	76

17 under seminaries and colleges are affiliated to the University ; one only is associated ; two senior seminaries are also affiliated to it.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The academical year consists of nine months, divided into three terms :

### BEAUVOIR MANOR

Along the Sillery road, beyond the village, there are several fine country seats, some of which no longer possess the attractions which once distinguished them. Amongst the most picturesque dwellings which are still maintained, is Beauvoir Manor, the seat of the late Honourable R. R. Dobell. This substantial house, situated within extensive grounds overlooking the St. Lawrence, is an ideal country residence. The grounds appeal to the lover of the beautiful in nature, and within its walls are collected many treasures from foreign lands which prove equally delightful to the lover of art.

### SPENCER GRANGE

" Retirement, rural quiet, friendship, books."

" When Spencer Wood became the gubernatorial residence, its owner reserved the smaller half, Spencer Grange, some forty acres divided off by a high brick wall and fence, terminating to the east in a river frontage of one acre. A small latticed bower facing the St. Lawrence overhanging the cliff, close to where the Belle Borne rill nearly dry during the summer months, rushes down the bank to Spencer Cove, in spring and autumn, a ribbon of fleecy whiteness. To the south it is bounded by Woodfield and reaches the north at a point opposite the road called Stuart's road,

#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

which intersects Hollands' farm leading from the St. Lewis to the Ste. Foye highway. The English landscape style was adopted in laying out the flower garden and grounds; some majestic old trees were left here and there through the lawns; three clumps of maple and red oak in the centre of the meadows to the west of the house grouped for effect; fences carefully hidden away in the surrounding copses; hedges, buildings, walks and trees brought in here and there to harmonize with the eye and to furnish on a few acres a perfect epitome of a woodland scene. The whole place is girt round with a zone of tall pine, beech, maple and red oaks, whose deep green foliage, when lit up by the rays of the setting or rising sun, assume tints of most dazzling brightness."

This delightful residence has, for many years, been the abode of Sir James Macpherson LeMoine, whose numerous contributions to local history have familiarised the public with much of the past of Quebec which would otherwise have been lost sight of. Spencer Grange has been honoured by visits from members of the Royal Family and the most notable people who have from time to time been the guests of the city.

In the summer months the lawns of Spencer Grange present a charming scene, and there are hundreds of tourists who recall with pleasure an agreeable hour spent under the shadows of the maples, when they were permitted to enjoy the hospitality of Sir James and Lady LeMoine.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

### MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF QUEBEC

SEPTEMBER, 1903

The Fortress of Quebec, under the command of Colonel Wilson, comprises the Citadel, the town lines and fortifications, and the forts at Levis. The Fortress is garrisoned by artillery and infantry.

#### *District Staff*

Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar C. Pelletier, R. C. A., D.O.C., 7th Military District.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Dunbar, District Staff Adjutant.

Colonel C. C. Sewell, M.D., Principal Medical Officer.

#### *Permanent Force*

Royal Canadian Garrison Artillery (In the Citadel)—Colonel J. F. Wilson, Commanding Officer.

No. 5 Regimental Depot, Royal Canadian Regiment (In Barracks, d'Auteuil street)—Major Fages, Commanding Officer.

#### *Volunteer Force*

##### CAVALRY

10th Regiment Queen's Own Canadian Hussars—Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. W. Turner, V.C., D.S.O., Commanding Officer.

**PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &c.**

**ARTILLERY**

First Quebec Field Artillery—Major E. Laliberté,  
Commanding Officer.

6th Regiment Quebec and Levis Garrison Artillery  
—Lieutenant-Colonel Vien, Commanding Officer.

**INFANTRY**

8th Regiment Royal Rifles—Lieutenant-Colonel  
Ray, Commanding Officer.

9th Regiment Voltigeurs—Lieutenant-Colonel A.  
Evanturel, Commanding Officer.

**ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE, S.C., No. 8.**

Principal Medical Officer—Colonel C. C. Sewell,  
M.D.

No. 5 Bearer Company—Major G. H. Parke, M.D.

No. 5 Field Hospital—Major Lorne Drum, M. D.

**MONTMORENCY**

From the earliest times visitors have recorded  
their impressions of the beautiful Fall at Montmorency.  
Peter Kalm, under the date of September, 1749, gives  
this description :

“ The waterfall near Montmorency is one of the  
“ highest I ever saw. It is in a river whose breadth  
“ is not very considerable, and falls over the steep side  
“ of a hill, consisting entirely of black lime slate.

“ The fall is now at the bottom of a little creek  
“ of the river. Both sides of the creek consist merely  
“ of black lime slate, which is much cracked and

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

“tumbled down. The hill of lime slate under the  
“waterfall is quite perpendicular, and one cannot look  
“at it without astonishment. The rain of the pro-  
“ceeding day had increased the water in the river,  
“which gave the fall a grander appearance. The  
“breadth of the fall is not above ten or twelve yards.  
“Its perpendicular height I guessed to be between one  
“hundred and ten and one hundred and twenty feet,  
“and on our return to Quebec, we found our guess  
“to be confirmed by several gentlemen, one who had  
“actually measured the fall, and found it to be as we  
“conjectured. The people who live in the neigh-  
“bourhood exaggerate in their account of it, actually  
“declaring it is 300 feet high. At the bottom of the  
“fall there is always a thick fog of vapours spreading  
“about the waters, being resolved into them by its  
“violent fall. This fog occasions almost perpetual  
“rain here, which is more or less heavy in proportion  
“to its distance from the fall. Mr. Gauthier and  
“myself, together with the man who showed us the  
“way, were willing to come nearer to the falling  
“water, in order to examine more accurately how it  
“came down from such a height, and how the stone  
“behind the water looked. But being about 12 yards  
“off the fall, a sudden gust of wind blew a thick fog  
“upon us, which in less than a minute had wet us as  
“thoroughly as if we had walked for half an hour in a  
“heavy shower. We therefore hurried away as fast  
“as we could and were glad to get off. The noise of  
“the fall is sometimes heard at Quebec, which is two  
“French miles off to the southward, and this is a sign  
“of north east wind.”

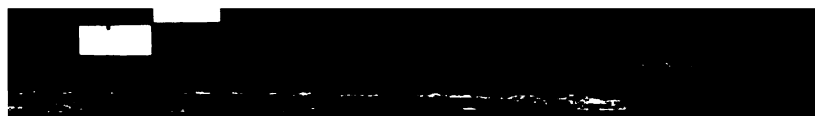
Ten years after the visit of Peter Kalm, General Wolfe took up his abode in a cottage just beyond the old suspension bridge. The house is still standing.





*Reminders of the struggle for supremacy  
in the grounds of Ft. Mifflin, Pa. - Montgomery*





## PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

In the summer of 1902, Colonel Townshend, of the Royal Fusiliers, was enabled to identify the spot, from measurements on a large manuscript plan of Wolfe's camp at Montmorency, whereon this building is described as "Wolfe's headquarters". The little chamber is still pointed out where Wolfe was confined to his bed during the month of August. The walls of the house are very thick, and may have been built a great many years before 1759.

The engraving given herewith is from a photograph taken for this work by permission of the owner of the building. At a short distance from this house, Townshend's Camp may be traced with the aid of a plan, and at the ford, above the river, may be seen the remains of Repentigny's camp. In the beautiful grounds of "Montmorency Cottage" the residence of H. M. Price, Esquire, there are several souvenirs of warlike times.

The grounds are, of course private, but these old guns may be seen from a certain portion of the road.

There is a history attached to each gun, the substance of which is embodied in these notes, which have been kindly prepared by Mr. Price.

1. Large cannon, belonged to French Admiral's ship "Le Prudent" captured and burned by the English at Louisbourg, 1758. See Vol. 1, page 120 of "Siege of Quebec, &c."

2. English cannon found at English Bay, Anticosti.

3. Carronade found in remains of oaken vessel at Burstall's Cove, Sillery, about 1890.

#### QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

4. Cannon from wreck of Sir Hovenden Walker's Fleet in 1711. Found at Egg Islands in 1900 by Mr. Comeau, of Godbout River.

5. Small cannon same as No. 10, from Louisbourg.

6. Cannon from wreck of French Frigate "L'Elephant," lost at Cap Brulé, opposite Crane Island, 1729.

7. Cannon found about 1896 in bed of St. Charles River where Bridge of boats was in 1759. Evidently French.

The guns are placed as numbered above, the last gun, No. 7, is the one nearest Mr. Price's house.

During the months of July, August and September, when the grounds of "The Cottage" have donned their brightest garb, there are few places more desirable than this picturesque spot.

The field adjoining Mr. Price's house is leased by the Quebec Cricket Club, and matches are generally arranged for each Saturday during the Cricket season.

At some distance in the rear of "The Cottage" are the "Natural Steps" which most visitors desire to see.

Since the advent of the Quebec Electric Railway, Montmorency has become a popular resort. "Kent Lodge" formerly the residence of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, offers every accommodation to the public, and music, and various kinds of entertainment are provided. Within these grounds may also be seen the fur bearing animals, Buffalo, Bears, and other species, owned by Holt, Renfrew & Co., Furriers of Quebec.



#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &C.

The elevator which is close to the track of the electric railway, is a great boon to the numerous visitors to Montmorency. Within a few miles from Quebec, on the line of road to Montmorency, is the village of Beauport. During the siege of Quebec, in 1759, the French camp extended from the River St. Charles to Montmorency Falls, and the old house, which is still pointed out near Beauport Church, was occupied by Montcalm as his headquarters.







## CHAPTER XVIII

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1764-1903

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### LITERATURE IN QUEBEC

THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS—THE NEWSPAPERS OF  
QUEBEC—EARLY WRITERS—BOURNE—HAWKINS  
—THE SUFFOLK SEAL—QUEBEC IN DURHAM  
COUNTY—GARNEAU—CRÉMAZIE—FERLAND—  
THE ROYAL SOCIETY—FELIX GABRIEL MARCHAND

**M**ANY newspapers have been published in Quebec since the establishment of the first printing press, but few of them deserve any special mention, as the majority had a very brief career. The *Quebec Gazette* was the earliest newspaper. Its first issue appeared on the 21st of June, 1764, and its last number bore the date of October 30th, 1874, an existence of over one hundred and ten years.

The *Quebec Mercury*, which is one of the leading papers of to-day, as well as the oldest in existence, was founded on the 5th of January, 1805, and will soon celebrate its one hundredth anniversary. Mr. E. T. D. Chambers, the proprietor of Chambers' Guide, is the present editor.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The *Canadien* was established, in 1806, to combat the influence of the *Mercury*. After three years its career was interrupted, for reasons given in another chapter. It resumed publication in 1831, and continued in Quebec until 1891, when the office was removed to Montreal.

In the year 1842, *Le Journal de Quebec* was founded by Messrs Joseph Cauchon and Augustin Côté, and ceased publication on the 1st of October, 1889. For a time the paper was prosperous, but during its later years it was published at a sacrifice to Mr. Côté.

The *Morning Chronicle* was first issued in the year 1847. Although there have been many changes in its management, it has always been considered as one of the best English papers. Its present editor is Mr. J. J. Proctor.

The *Courrier du Canada* was founded in 1857 and continued until the year 1901. Its first editors were Sir Hector Langevin, C.B., and Dr. J. C. Taché. The Hon. T. Chapais was the editor at the time it ceased publication.

*L'Événement* was founded in 1867, by Mr. Hector Fabre, and for a time it was regarded as the *Figaro* of Quebec. It is still the very active organ of the conservative party. Its proprietors are the Honourable Messrs Landry and Pelletier. The editor is Mr. Dumont.

The *Daily Télégraph* was established in the month of May, 1874, by the late James Carrel. His son, Mr. Frank Carrel, proprietor of Carrel's Guide to Quebec, has greatly improved the circulation and appearance of the paper. In addition to the daily

## LITERATURE IN QUEBEC

issue there is a weekly edition called the *Family Budget*. This is a popular family paper. Mr. Jordan is the editor.

*Le Soleil*, one of the most popular papers, owes its existence to Mr. Ernest Pacaud. In 1896 *Le Soleil* replaced *L'Electeur*, which has been founded in 1880. *Le Soleil* is a progressive paper, and the organ of the Liberal party.

*La Vérité* was established by its present owner, Mr. Tardivel in 1881, and it appears to be based upon a solid foundation.

*L'Enseignement Primaire* dates from 1880. It is a monthly review and the recognized organ of the Catholic Teachers of the Province. Under the direction of Professor J. C. Magnan, of Laval Normal School, the review has made great progress.

*La Nouvelle-France*, a monthly review, was founded in January 1902. It is edited by writers at home and abroad.

The Director is the Rev. Abbé Lindsay, and the Secretary, M. Dumontier.

*North American Notes and Queries*, was founded by Raoul Renault in June, 1900. It ceased publication after the issue of the ninth number, in March, 1901.

Amongst the other publications issued in Quebec at present, we may mention *La Semaine Commerciale*, *L'Echo de Québec*, *Le Bulletin du Travail*, *La Semaine Religieuse de Québec*, *Le Bulletin du Parler Français*, *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, *Les Fleurs de la Charité*, *La Revue Eucharistique*.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

From 1764 to 1792, four newspapers were founded in Quebec, but from 1792 to 1840, there were thirty-six ; thirteen in French and ten in English, and three in both languages. From 1844 to 1867, the increase was remarkable. There were forty-eight in French, thirty-three in English, and two in both languages. Since 1867 the increase has still been greater ; no less than one hundred and twenty having been published in French, twenty-six in English, and two in both languages.

During the period of one hundred and thirty-six years, two hundred and sixty newspapers and periodicals and reviews have been established, of all sizes and of every political shade ; but only fourteen now remain, if we exclude the weekly issues of the daily papers. Several publications were prosperous for a time and made their mark in politics or in letters. Amongt others we may mention *La Fantasque*, *Le Nouvelliste*, *L'Abeille du Séminaire*, *Le Matin*, *L'Electeur*, *Le Canada Français*, *Le Courrier du Livre*. Previous to the union of the Provinces there is very little literary or historical work to record in Quebec. We may mention the valuable letters of Dr. J. Mountain, various contributions of Chief Justice Sewell and Bourne, the work of the Quebec Historical Society, which is referred to at length elsewhere, the writings of Dr. Fisher, the volume of verse published by Bibaud, and fugitive pieces from the pen of Morin, Chauveau, Bédard, Garneau, Angers, Chauveau and Soulard.

In 1834, "Hawkins' Picture of Quebec with

## LITERATURE IN QUEBEC

Historical Recollections", was issued from the press of Neilson and Cowan. The material was gathered by Mr. Hawkins, and the matter arranged by Dr. Fisher, a very graceful writer. This work is the most important of the early historical works in English relating to Quebec, published in the city.

Unfortunately, Mr. Hawkins was not very careful about his facts, and as his pages have been copied extensively, many curious errors have been widely circulated. An instance may be cited, which shows that one very interesting chapter which is given as being closely connected with Québec, has not the remotest connection with the city ; namely, the portion of the book relating to the Suffolk Seal, and to the Suffolk family. On page 119 there is an engraving of a mutilated seal with a Latin inscription. The seal, we are informed, belonged to William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk and Lord of Hambury and of Quebec, in the reign of Henry V.

Quebec at that time " was a place of sufficient importance to give one of his titles to a distinguished statesman and warrior, so early as the seventh year of the reign of Henry V. of England, the hero of Agincourt....and proves that Quebec was a Town, Castle, Barony or Domain, which the powerful Earl of Suffolk either held in his own right, or as Governor &c."

After correspondence with His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, the Countess of Suffolk, and the Herald's College, we are informed by the Norroy King of

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Arms. on the authority of the Rolls of Normandy, that " William de la Pole was created Lord of Hambye " and Briquebec, in Normandy, 12 March, 1417 ".

Mr. Hawkins concludes his lengthy remarks on the family of the Earl of Suffolk by saying " there are strong grounds for believing that the name Quebec, *per se*, is in fact a Norman word. That some Indian name which resembled it in sound was heard by Champlain, and considered to be that of the place where he settled ; that this Indian word was most probably the latter division of their name for the River St. Charles, Cabir-Coubat ; and that from this word it probably acquired its present appellation ".

This is only one instance of the pitfalls which beset the student in endeavouring to ascertain the truth, but it supports the statement made by the late Lord Acton, Professor of History in Cambridge University, " that the student is constantly misled by the classics of history, and cannot accept without reserve and secondary authority ".

In pursuing our enquiries regarding the Suffolk seal, we endeavoured to ascertain at what date the name Quebec was given to a place in Durham County, which although small, boasts of a Post Office. Lord Durham, the grandson of a former Governor of Quebec, has kindly sent a letter from the Vicar of Lanchester in Durham, from which we extract the following. " There was a small farm of 55 acres known as Quebec, " which on the division of Hamsteels Common in " 1775 or 1776, was awarded to Mr. Anthony Wil-

## LITERATURE IN QUEBEC

“ kinson, one of the Streaton family. It continued in  
“ the family until it was sold to a Mr. Wiggen in  
“ 1845. It never belonged to the Lambton's, but  
“ adjoined a farm of theirs known as “ Greenland ”.  
“ Probably the name Quebec was given after the  
“ victory of Wolfe, when public feeling was running  
“ high.”

Since 1840 writers have been more numerous, and from this date we may trace the commencement of a distinctive Canadian literature. Amongst the French we may mention Etienne Parent, E. L'Ecuyer, Huot, Chauveau, Morin and Plamondon, who have written good prose on various subjects. In 1845, the first volume of Garneau's History of Canada was published. This work was so far in advance of anything that had been previously written that it may be considered as marking an epoch in Canadian literature. The publication of the second, third and fourth volume, only added to the reputation of the author, whose works have ever since been regarded as classics.

After Garneau came Octave Crémazie, the poet, whose verse has a universal reputation. With the publication of *Les Soirées Canadiennes* and *Le Foyer Canadien*, in 1861, and 1863, arose a host of litterateurs who only needed a favourable opportunity to make themselves known.

In 1861, the Abbé Ferland published the first volume of an excellent work, entitled *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

At the time of Confederation, great progress had been made in literature in the city. A glance at the bibliographical list for the thirty-five years preceeding 1867 shows that in the field of letters every branch was ably represented. Of the living writers we do not propose to speak, their name is legion ; and the list of their works would properly find a place only in a bibliography. Of the Quebec authors living to-day, seventeen are members of the Royal Society, and we give their names simply on that account. There are many able writers, however, who are not members of the Society, each section of which is limited to twenty-five members for the whole of Canada. The members are : Monseigneur Bégin, Monseigneur Laflamme, Sir James LeMoine, Judge Routhier, Chevalier Baillairgé, Abbé Casgrain, Abbé Gosselin, L. P. Lemay, N. Legendre, Paul de Cazes, Dr. George Stewart, J. E. Roy, Hon. T. Chapais, Ernest Gagnon, Rev. F. G. Scott, Mgr. L. A. Pâquet and Dr. N. E. Dionne.

Since 1760 a number of Literary and Historical Societies, clubs, organizations composed of citizens of all nationalities, have existed in Quebec. A brief description of some of the literary and historical societies may be given.

The first public library was opened in 1779. At that time probably all the books in Canada could be stored in a moderately large room. In 1793 the second story of the Quebec Insurance Company was utilized as a library. The Parliamentary Library in Quebec dates from the first Parliament in 1792. It was a very

## LITERATURE IN QUEBEC

small collection, and indeed, at this time the system of government was novel, and the needs of the people were not great. The members of the Legislature, as a body, were not a highly cultured class; the few who had a taste for literature were content with the odd volumes which reached our shores. Amongst the books that we know were in Quebec at this time, were the works of Voltaire, The Arabian Nights, and the *Mille et un jours*.

There was no regular librarian of the Legislature at this time. The Clerk of the House had charge of the books for the first forty years. In 1817 there were 1000 books in the library, and in 1832 the number is given as 4921. In 1833 Etienne Parent, the French translator and law clerk, was appointed librarian with a salary of two hundred pounds. He resigned in 1885, and his successor, Jasper Brewer, found 5,500 volumes in the library when he commenced his duties. In 1841 the library contained 7,000 volumes.

At the Union of the Provinces in 1841, the political leaders agreed to place the library of United Canada under the charge of two officials, who since 1836 had acted as librarians of Upper Canada, namely, Dr. Winder, librarian, and Alpheus Todd, assistant librarian.

After the Union, the Parliament sat alternately in the four principal cities of Canada, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Kingston. As there was only one library, and it could not be divided, the books were transferred every four years to the temporary capital. In 1849

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

the library in Montreal, after having been four years in Kingston, contained 8,232 books, and there were 4,000 volumes in Quebec which had not been removed.

On the 25th of April, 1849, a fire broke out in the Parliament building during a riot in connection with the Indemnity Bill, a measure in favour of those who had been exiled in 1839. The library valued at twenty-five thousand pounds was almost destroyed. The Government at once commenced to repair the loss by purchasing books from abroad. Five years later, 17,000 well chosen volumes were collected, and Quebec possessed the best library in Canada. When the Parliament Buildings and their contents were threatened by fire, the soldiers and the pupils of the Seminary succeeded in saving 9,313 volumes. New books were purchased, and in 1834, 30,000 books were found in the library. In 1865 most of the books were transferred to Ottawa. The official library contained 65,000 volumes at this time. It then became necessary to purchase a new Library for Quebec. Between 1867 and 1883, thirty thousand volumes were collected. In the spring of 1883 the Parliament House was destroyed by fire, and with it 25,000 volumes. The library at present contains 63,000 volumes.

The first literary association formed in Quebec, probably dates from the year 1809. To encourage English and French literature, the society offered two medals for an ode on the anniversary of the birth of the King.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

## LITERATURE IN QUEBEC

was founded in 1824. It is the senior Institution of the kind, and has at present seventy-nine members. In its early days it accomplished a great deal of permanent work, and it possesses a fine library. Mr. F. C. Wurtele is the librarian, and one of its most active members. Under the auspices of the Society eleven volumes of transactions, and five volumes of *Memoirs* have been published, which are highly valued by students of history.

The Canadian Scientific Society, established in 1840, was the forerunner of the Institut Canadien, founded in 1847. Its meetings were held in a room in the old Parliament Buildings until 1850. From 1850 until 1863, its quarters were in the house of Mr. Simard on the corner of Buade and Port Dauphin Streets. After 1863 the Institute removed to rooms in the Building of the Caisse d'Economie, and later it occupied a building on Fabrique Street, which has since disappeared. Its present quarters are in the City Hall. The Institute and the Literary and Historical Society have rendered great service to the history of Canada. We find in the publications of the societies a faithful echo of the past—a past which we recall with pride.

A Natural History Society was formed in Quebec, but as it was not well supported, it soon closed its doors. Lord Durham founded an Agricultural Society in 1789, with a branch in Montreal. The *Cercle Catholique* was founded in 1876. During the first years of its existence it played a prominent part. One of the most recent societies, is the Société du Parler Français, the

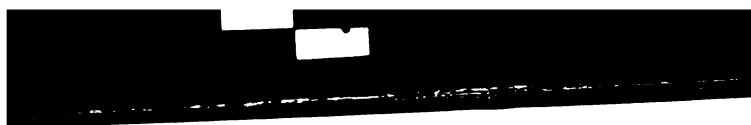
## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

object of which is to preserve the purity of the French language. The Canadian Press Association founded in 1882, has been the means of making French Canada known abroad. The Medical Society, amongst the good work to its credit, was the first to organize a French Medical Congress in North America.

### FELIX GABRIEL MARCHAND

The late Honourable Felix-Gabriel Marchand, Prime Minister of Quebec, who died on the 25th of September, 1900, is one of the most interesting figures in the political history of this Province since confederation. Other men have risen to prominence in political life whose brilliant oratory, whose personal magnetism, or whose undoubted scholarship kept them steadily before the public gaze. They were men of the day. They served their time, many of them faithfully, but the record of their achievement is seldom now recalled. The memory of Felix Gabriel Marchand, however, will not pass away, although he had not, in any specially marked degree, those qualifications which distinguished some of his confrères.

For the secret of his influence upon his fellow men during his life time, and for those characteristics which have left their impress upon the people of this Province, we must look beneath the surface. It is not as a statesman, nor yet as a leader, nor even as a scholar, that we recall his memory, although he had a claim to each distinction ; it is rather as Felix Gabriel Marchand, the man.



# THEORY OF THE EARTH

## CHAPTER I. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

### SECTION I. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION II. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION III. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION IV. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

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#### SECTION VI. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION VII. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION VIII. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

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#### SECTION XV. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XVI. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XVII. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XVIII. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XIX. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XX. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

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#### SECTION XXIII. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XXIV. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XXV. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XXVI. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.

#### SECTION XXVII. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EARTH.



*J.H. Ryland*  
*Hon. F.L. Marchand*



## LITERATURE IN QUEBEC

His Eminence, the late Cardinal Newman, once said, that if we were to search the English language for the most appropriate terms to express the highest tribute to a man, we could find none which would compose a grander epitaph than is formed by these three simple words "An honest heart," and these three words sum up, as no other words could do, the character of the late Premier.

Three days before his death he wrote to his constituents, who for over thirty years had chosen him as their representative in the Legislature :—

"Soyez sûrs, mes chers et fidèles amis, que si j'ai manqué en quelque chose dans l'accomplissement de mon devoir, cela n'a pas dépendu de ma volonté. J'ai toujours désiré servir mon pays dans toute la mesure de mes forces."

The key note of his life was an unswerving devotion to duty, whether as a citizen, a soldier, or a statesman, and the world is better because he lived. He gave to his country a whole hearted service, and throughout his long career his honour remained inviolate. He was seen more clearly in death than in life. In life he was esteemed, in death he was revered.

The Archbishop of Montreal, in the course of the funeral sermon, said :—

"Vous permettez, messieurs, à ma franchise d'évêque, de dire ici que, relativement à certaines mesures pour lesquelles il a combattu, j'aurais différé de sentiment avec lui, mais cela n'empêche pas que ses intentions aient été droites, qu'il ait eu la conviction de ne

## QURBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

travailler que pour le bien, qu'il n'ait eu recours qu'à des moyens honorables, qu'il ait aimé sincèrement son pays, qu'il ait eu le désir ardent de son progrès intellectuel et matériel. Sur tous ces points, il n'y a qu'une voix pour lui rendre hommage ; je le répète : il a été le citoyen intègre qui n'a pas failli à l'honneur."

The ideal of lofty, inflexible character, and true manliness which the simple story of his life presents, is the reflex of one—

".....who bore without abuse,  
" The grand old name of gentleman."





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# APPENDIX

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# APPENDIX

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## No. 1

### DOCUMENTS *RE* LE CHIEN D'OR

#### WARRANT OF ARREST AGAINST THE SIEUR DE REPENTIGNY

Seeing the information laid by us, Francois Daine, this day on the petition of Sieur Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, plaintiff and complainant.

The King's procurator being associated herein, against the Sieur de Repentigny, an officer of the troops of the Marine detachment in garrison in this town, defendant, accused, and the conclusion of the representative of the King's Procurator in the Prevoste, dated this day : We order that the said Sieur de Repentigny be arrested and taken to the royal prison in this said town to be heard and interrogated on the facts resulting from the charges contained in the said information and others on which the said representative may wish to have him heard ; if not and after search has been made for his person, he shall be summoned to appear within a delay of fifteen days with another summons by a single public cry, giving a delay of eight days; his property shall be seized and inventoried and a guardian appointed thereto, which shall be done notwithstanding any opposition or appeal whatsoever and without prejudice thereto.

Done at Quebec, the 21st of January, 1748.

(Signed) DAINÉ.

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No. 2

22ND JANUARY, 1748.

To Monsieur the Intendant,

The Comptroller of the Marine has the honour to represent to you that for many years the Sieur Philibert, merchant, of this town, had the contract for supplying bread to the troops and for the other requirements of the service ; that in the course of such contract several amounts were paid on account to the said Philibert by the Treasurer of the Marine which may amount to a much greater amount than that represented by the goods supplied by him and for which he has not yet accounted to the said Treasurer ; that, moreover, the said Philibert received from the King's stores during the past month 150 barrels of flour to be made into bread for the subsistence of the troops and that he is further indebted to the King's domain according to his note of the 2nd September last, in a sum of two thousand six hundred and forty-four *livres* ten *sols* for entrance duties. And whereas the said Philibert died last night, it is the duty of the said Comptroller to take every precaution for the preservation of His Majesty's moneys.

Considering the above you are requested to be pleased to order that seals be affixed on all the moveables and effects in the house of the said Philibert in order that the proper orders may be given after his widow shall have settled accounts with the Treasurer of the Marine respecting the supplies furnished by the deceased and the sums to him paid as well as the 150 barrels of flour.

FOUCAULT.

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Gilles Hocquart, Intendant of New France.

Seeing the petition submitted to us, we have appointed and do appoint Sieur Daine, Lieutenant General in the Prevoste to affix seals upon the effects of Sieur Philibert as requested—sub-delegating him for the purpose—and he shall be accompanied by the clerk of Prevoste.

Ordered, etc., Quebec, 22nd January, 1748.

HOCQUART.

## APPENDIX

### No. 3

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty eight, on the twenty second January at ten of the clock in the morning, we, Francois Daine, King's Councillor, Lieutenant Governor in civic and criminal matters at the seat of the Prevoste of Quebec, sub-delegate of Monsieur the Intendant in this matter, in virtue of his commission dated this day, witness at the foot of a petition of the Comptroller of the Marine in this country, proceeded, accompanied by the clerk of the Prevoste and with the Commission of the said Monsieur the Intendant, to the house situate on Mountain street belonging to the late Sieur Nicolas Jacquin Philibert where he died yesterday, at about the hour of ten in the evening, for the purpose of affixing seals upon all the moveables and effects in the said house, where we took the oath of Demoiselle Marie Anne Guerin, wife of the said late Sieur Philibert, whom we found ill in bed as well as of Jean Baptiste Pinault, Jacques Clement Lesueur, Mathurin Buron and Pierre and Louis Robert, negro servants of the said house, that they had not taken any of the moveables and effects belonging to the succession of the said late Sieur Philibert, nor had any knowledge of any being taken by anybody whomsoever, either directly or indirectly, of which oath we gave *acte*, and afterwards proceeded to affix seals as follows:

Firstly: We affixed a slip of paper, upon the two ends whereof is impressed the seal of our arms, upon the door of the store which is on the ground floor of the house; we affixed none on the windows as the latter have iron gratings;

We affixed a slip of paper as aforesaid upon the opening of the lock of the vault of the said house;

Idem., upon the door of the biscuit store, having no other entrance, but the door on the second story;

Idem., upon the door of the flour store on the same story, having no other entrance than the said door;

On the door and lock of a large room attached to the house looking upon the back of the same on the first story in which room are the papers, money and linen of the said late Sieur Philibert;

Idem., on the entrance door of the cellar of the said house having its entrance in the dining room of the same;

Idem., on the opening of the lock of a closet in the dining room of the said house, as one enters, on the side of the cellar;

A slip of paper as aforesaid on another closet beside that above mentioned;

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

These are all the seals that had to be affixed in the said house. After this we proceeded to take a list of the effects in the said house, as follows, to wit: In the kitchen of the said house :

Twelve earthenware plates,  
Six small China dishes, idem,  
Seven pewter plates,  
Six China plates,  
Three China dishes, idem,  
One large pewter dish,  
Two medium do  
One set of China casters,  
Two do salt cellars,  
One large China soup dish,  
One earthenware dish,  
One pewter porringer,  
Five pewter spoons,  
Three copper stew-pans,  
One small do pie dish,  
One copper sauce pan,  
One fish kettle with cover, idem,  
Four frying pans,  
One iron pot,  
One brass kettle,  
One copper do  
Three iron do  
One iron pepper mill,  
Another copper kettle,  
Three brickets with iron hoops,  
One table with folding leaf,  
Two steel axes,  
One iron soup ladle,  
One iron shovel,  
One pair of andirons.

In the dining room :

One iron stove with pipe,  
One wooden cup board,  
Eight straw seat chairs,  
Two curtains of green serge,  
A short curtain on the door of this room,  
One wooden sideboard.

In the bed-room of the late Sieur Philibert were :

A bed made of pine wood with curtains, feather-bed, pail-  
lasse, mattress, bolster, blanket, trimmed with green serge;  
An arm chair covered with green plush,

## APPENDIX

A glass mirror with gilt frame, nine pieces of blue and white China, two curtains of green serge with poles, two damaged andirons,

One birch wood table with turned legs, eight wooden chairs with turned legs and covered with heavy green plush,

A picture of St. Peter,

A crucifix on velvet with gilt border,

Two large glass tumblers,

Four small glass carafes,

Six porcelain cups and saucers and a porcelain tea pot with cover.

A large China jug,

A silver watch with do case.

We afterwards proceeded to the bakery of the said house where we found only the implements necessary for the same all of which were sealed, as well as all the effects found in the said house, which we left in the care of the said Demoiselle Marie Anne Guerin, widow of the late Sieur Philibert, who voluntarily undertook to be the guardian thereof, promising to produce the same whenever called upon to do so. Of all which we have drawn up a proces-verbal on the day and in the year aforesaid and the said Pinault, Lesueur, Buron as well as Pierre and Louis Robert, negroes, have declared that they are unable to sign their names as being thereunto required according to the ordinance.

DAINE,

BOISSEAU.

GUERIN-PHILIBERT.

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In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty eight, the twenty third January at five o'clock in the afternoon, we, Francois Daine, hereunto sub-delegate of Monsieur the Intendant, proceeded, accompanied by the clerk of the Prevoste in obedience to the order given us this day, written at the foot of a petition and preceded by Demoiselle Marie Anne Guerin, widow of the late Sieur Philibert to the house, sixteen Mountain street, belonging to the succession of the said late Sieur Philibert, for the purpose of verifying the seals affixed by us, at the request of the Comptroller of the Marine in this country on the goods and effects left by the said late Sieur Philibert, as appears by our proces-verbal of yesterday, where being and in the presence of Sieur Louis Robin, King's writer and of the widow Philibert, constituted guardian of the effects so sealed as well as of the

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

other effects in the house, we, the Lieutenant General aforesaid, found the seals affixed in the house according to our proces-verbal, unbroken and handed over the same to Maitre Panet, Royal Notary in the Prevoste of this town, with the consent of Maitre Foucault, Comptroller and Commissioner of the Marine, to be by him removed as the inventory of the effects so sealed is proceeded with. Whereof, we have drawn up the present proces-verbal on the day and in the year aforesaid.

And the said widow Philibert, as well as the said L. Robin and Maitre Panet have signed with us.

ROBIN,  
DAINE,

PANET,

GUERIN-PHILIBERT,  
BOISSEAU.

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### No. 4

23RD JANUARY, 1748.

To Monsieur the Lieutenant-General for civil and criminal matters of the Prevote of Quebec and Commissioner herein.

Marie Anne Guerin, widow of Sieur Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, in his lifetime merchant of this town humbly prays : That seeing the proces-verbal of the affixing of seals on the petition of the Comptroller of the Marine, you will be pleased to fix a day for proceeding to remove the same, the said Sieur Comptroller being present or duly summoned, in order that an inventory may afterwards be made of the furnitures, moneys, letters and papers under the said seals, in the presence of Monsieur the Comptroller of the Marine or of any other person whom Monsieur the Intendant may be pleased to appoint and you will do us justice.

GUERIN PHILIBERT.

Seeing the present petition we order that we shall proceed this day at four o'clock in the afternoon with the clerk of the commission to the house in which the Sieur Philibert, merchant of this town, died, for the purpose of removing the seals by us affixed on the moveables and effects belonging to the community of property between him and Marie Anne Guerin his wife, after having verified the same in the presence of Monsieur Foucault,

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Comptroller of the Marine, hereto duly summoned and in his default of the person he may appoint, the seals having been verified and handed over to Maitre Panet, Royal notary, that he may proceed to make the inventory of the effects found under the said seals in the presence of the said Comptroller or other person appointed by him.

We order, etc.

Done at Quebec, the 23rd January, 1748.

DAINE.

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### No. 5

On this day the twenty third February, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, in the afternoon in the office of the Prevote of this town and of the clerk thereof, came and appeared: Joseph Demeule and Andre Bouchaud, traders along the shores; who declared to us as follows, to wit: the said Demeule that he trades at la Valtrie near Montreal and has a store at that place for carrying on his trade on the neighbouring shores; and the said Bouchaud that he likewise trades at Berthier near Montreal where he also has his store and that they were summoned on behalf of the late sieur Philibert to depose the truth on the inquiry made on his petition against the Sieur de Repentigny, an officer in the troops of the Marine detachment; that Dame widow Philibert had summoned them to remain in this town until re-examined and confrontation on their depositions which would cause them considerable damage owing to their having abandoned their stores at the places aforesaid; to obviate which the said Sieurs Demeule and Bouchaud, bind themselves to be present in this town on the eighteenth day of the month of March next to answer any summons that may be made upon them, hereby electing domicile in this town in the house of Sieur Bouchaud, the elder, situate in Sous le Fort street, protesting as regards all their expenses for travelling, remaining in and returning to this said town and other places and of all things which the said summons may cause to them and of all things respecting which they may protest in such cases.

Whereof they have required *acte*, to them granted to serve as the same reasonably may and have signed.

(Signed)

DEMEULE,  
BOUCHAUD.  
N. BOISSEAU.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

### No. 6

On this day, the twenty-fourth of January, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight in the afternoon, in the office of the Prevoste, before us, the clerk thereof, came and appeared Maitre Jean Claude Panet, royal notary in this provoste, on behalf and as attorney of Mademoiselle Marie Anne Guerin, widow of Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, in his lifetime merchant of this town under the deed passed before Maitre Dulaurent and his colleague this day ; who, on the said behalf, declared to us that he will start from this town to-morrow to proceed by relays to that of Montreal for the purpose of following up, on behalf of the said dame Philibert, the execution of the warrant of arrest issued against the Sieur de Repentigny, an officer in the troops of the Marine detachment, and to prosecute the inventory of all his moveable effects ; to that end protesting on behalf of the said widow for all his travelling expenses for his stay in the town of Montreal and other places and in returning to this town of Quebec and for all costs, damages and interest suffered and to be suffered and everything which she has the right to protest in such cases ; of which appearance, declaration and protests the said Maitre Panet, on the said behalf, has demanded *acte*, the same being granted him and both signed.

PANET,  
BOISSEAU.

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### No. 7

Performing the duties of King's Procurator from the said twenty first January, on which day it was ordered that the said Repentigny be arrested and taken to the royal prison there to be interrogated as to the facts resulting from the said charge and information and others respecting which the said King's Procurator may wish to have him heard ; — the warrant of arrest issued by us on the said twenty first day of January against the said Sieur de Repentigny ; the return of the seach for the said accused by the bailiffs Valet and Cantin on the twenty first of the said month ; — the summons with a delay of fifteen days given to the said Sieur de Repentigny on the twenty second of the same month to appear on seventh February following ; the petition presented by the said Marie Anne Guerin, widow of the said Sieur Philibert, the prosecutrix and civil party ; our ordin-

## APPENDIX

ance that communication be given to the King's Procurator, of the said twenty second day of the same month ; the requisition of the said King's Procurator of the same day; our ordinance at the foot thereof by which we permitted the body of the said late Philibert to be opened by the said Briant in the presence of the said Sieur Beaudoin, to ascertain the wound he had received from the said Sieur de Repentigny ; the report drawn up by the said Sieurs Briant and Beaudoin on the said twenty second day; another summons with a delay of eight days, given to the said Sieur de Repentigny on the eighth of the said month of February, to appear on the seventeenth of the same month; the requisition of the said King's Procurator of the twentieth of the said month of February for the re-examination of the witnesses heard on the said information and that their re-examination will be equivalent to confrontation with the said Sieur de Repentigny. Our judgment of the twenty fourth of the said month of February whereby it is ordered that the witnesses heard on the said information shall be re-examined on their requisition and the re-examination shall be equivalent to confrontation with the said Sieur de Repentigny, the accused ; our ordinance of the twentieth of the said month of February for summoning the said witnesses; the writ of summons to them given on the twentieth of the same month ; the re-examination of the said witnesses dated the twenty first of the said month; the petition presented by the said Marie Anne Guerin, widow of the said Philibert, that the said Sieur de Repentigny be duly declared attainted and convicted of having murdered the said Philibert and other cases mentioned in the said suit, for reparation where of he be condemned to thirty thousand *livres* for damages with civil interest in favour of the said widow Philibert and the costs of suit, saving the right of the King's Procurator to conclude as he may deem advisable and we grant her *acte* for having produced the exhibits of the suit in support of the facts alleged in the said petition; our ordinance at the foot of the petition that it be served upon the said Sieur de Repentigny at his last domicile...

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

### No. 8

#### COPY OF JUDGMENT

Considering the criminal prosecution instituted and proceeded with by us, Francois Daine, King's Counsel, Lieutenant-General for civil and criminal jurisdiction at the seat of the Prévôté of Quebec, originally on the petition of Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, merchant of this town, plaintiff and prosecutor and since his death on the petition of Marie Anne Guerin, widow of the said Philibert, plaintiff and prosecutrix the King's Procurator acting therein against the Sieur de Repentigny, an officer of the troops of the Marine detachment in this country, defendant, accused of having killed the said Sieur Philibert :—the petition of complaint presented to us by the said Philibert on the 20th January last, replied to by us on the same day, by which he asks permission to lay a complaint and our ordinance of the same day, the twentieth January, granting permission to lay an information as to the facts therein contained and to be examined by the said Beaudoin, surgeon ;—A petition presented to us on the said day for leave to receive the oath of the said Sieur Beaudoin, replied to on the same day :—the certificate of the taking of the oath on the said twentieth January, the report of the said Sieur Beaudoin of the same date ;—our ordinance of the said twentieth day of the month of January to summon the witnesses to be heard on the said information,—the summons to one Bouchard, *filz*, Demeule, cooper, Pierre Voyer, Joseph Delorme, Dumont and the wife of the said Dumont, by writ of the said twentieth day of January issued on the petition of the said Philibert against the Sieur de Repentigny containing the examination of six witnesses ;—our ordinance communicated to the said King's Procurator, duly received ;—the discontinuance of the said King's Procurator of the same date inasmuch as he cannot take cognizance of the matter owing to relationship within the prescribed degrees, afterwards an ordinance of the twenty-first of the same month appointing Maitre Dulaurent, notary, in the said Prevote, in the place and stead of the said King's Procurator ;—Another discontinuance on behalf of Maitre Dulaurent, notary, of the said twenty-first of the same month, our ordinance at the foot thereof of the same date by which we appointed M. Barolet, notary, in the place and stead of the said M. Dulaurent to perform the duty of King's Procurator ;—Conclusion of the said Maitre Barolet dated the first of this month, the said petition served upon the said de Repentigny at his last domicile

## APPENDIX

in the house of one la Palme;—Conclusions of the said Maitre Barolet, acting as King's Procurator, dated the 5th of the said month. And, having on the whole deliberated and having obtained the opinion of Maitre Gilbert Boucaut de Godefus, Provost judge of the Seignior of Beaupre and of Maitre Charles Turpin, practitioner in this Prevote, taken as assessor with us; We have declared the contumacy of the said de Repentigny, the accused, to be fully proved; and, adjudicating upon his designs, declaring him duly attainted and convicted of having killed the said Philibert; in reparation whereof, condemning the said Repentigny, in view of his quality of gentleman, to have his head cut off on a scaffold to be erected for the purpose on the public square of the Lower Town of Quebec, condemning him moreover to pay 8000 livres for damages with interest to Marie Anne Guerin, widow of the said Philibert and to the costs of the suits; We have declared the remainder of his property confiscated to whomsoever it may appertain, after the sum of 105 livres shall have first been taken therefrom, in case confiscation affect His Majesty's property; And the present sentence shall be executed in effigy on a picture to be placed on a post fixed for the purpose on the public square.

Done at Quebec the 20th March, 1748.

And the said Sieur Millon and the said Maitres Boucaut and Turpin have signed with us in the presence of Maitre Milloncarde, Major.

Signed	BOUCAUT DE GODEFUS,
"	TURPIN,
"	MILLON,
"	N. BOISSEAU.

On behalf of the King, I demand the execution of the above Judgment.

Done at Quebec the 20th March, 1748.

Signed,	C. BAROLET,
	<i>Procurator.</i>

The above judgment was executed on the said 20th day of March, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight.

Signed,	N. BOISSEAU.
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QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

No. 9

MM. DE LA GALISSONNIERE AND HOCQUART.

17th AUGUST, 1748.

Monseigneur,

..... Last winter an unfortunate affair happened here to Sieur de Repentigny, the elder, who, having had a quarrel with the Sieur Philibert, wounded him by a sword thrust where of that merchant died. That officer seemed to us more unfortunate than guilty and we trust than you will so decide after reading the information we shall send you when we ask you to obtain his pardon from His Majesty.

We have the honour, etc., etc.,

LA GALLISSONNIERE, HOCQUART.

Quebec, 17th August, 1748.

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No. 10

1st SEPTEMBER, 1748.

LE GARDEUR M. DE REPENTIGNY.

Asks for letters of pardon in connection with the death of one Philibert, merchant of Quebec.

Monseigneur,

The misfortune that happened to me to give a sword thrust in the just defence of my honour and even of my life, to the Sieur Philibert, merchant of Quebec, compels me to have recourse to your Grace's kindness and most respectfully beg that you will be pleased to obtain for me letters of pardon for that murder. In the annexed petition I set forth the unfortunate circumstances that compelled me, on the first impulse, to proceed to that extremity. I hope that, in the investigation that was made, the witnesses have related the facts as they occurred, your Grace will find me more unfortunate than guilty, I never-

## APPENDIX

theless deeply regret having contributed to the death of a citizen. I have been condemned in the Prevoste to have my head cut off and to a fine of eight thousand livres besides two thousand livres for costs. I venture to hope, my Lord, that your Grace will be pleased to obtain for me the remission of a fine which completely prevents me from remaining in the service where I will endeavour more and more to make myself worthy of your kindness. I flatter myself, my Lord, that your Grace will be pleased that I should have the honour of submitting my report on a campaign I carried on this summer at the head of a party which my brother, who accompanied me as second in command, had brought here; and whereof M. de Sabrevois, the Commandant of this fort, gave me the command. In obedience to his orders I started on the 24 July with 25 Frenchmen, about one hundred Savages from the upper country and others settled here, to strike a blow on the shores of Carlogne, distant 40 leagues from this fort. On the 29th of the same month about 5 o'clock in the morning we arrived at a spot three quarters of a league from the fort and at the large village of Carlogne where the scouts came upon three men whom they attacked. One of the three was killed, another was made prisoner and the third escaped. Thereupon the savages, alarmed at the proximity of the enemy and following their constant custom to be content with one scalp rather than run the risk of a second attack, were very well satisfied with what they had done and thought only of returning home. Such a design disturbed me very much and I set to work at once to induce them to change their mind. To that end I gave them a collar to show that Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonnière would have a bad opinion of the repentance they would feel for their faults, whereof they would be accused were they to relax their efforts at sight of the enemy; that they could not take such a step without obliging me to bring them to account myself. And I urged them by that collar to second me in the resolution I had taken to keep the dead body and await those who might come to remove it. After much deliberation, the chiefs sent me word that they accepted the collar and we at once placed ourselves about two arpents from the body where the enemy appeared only at three o'clock in the afternoon to the number of a hundred and ten men. We attacked them as soon as they came near us and after a short resistance on their part, we compelled them to retreat from the battlefield leaving 21 dead. The proximity of their fort and of their village did not prevent our pursuing them and we made 13 prisoners notwithstanding the advantage of a very thick wood which greatly favoured their retreat. We learned

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

from the captives that a great many of their people had escaped wounded. A Canadian and six of our Savages were wounded and one Outoua killed.

I venture to hope, Monseigneur, that your Grace will be pleased to take my conduct during that campaign into consideration.

I remain with respect, etc., etc.,

LE GARDEUR REPENTIGNY.

Fort St. Frédéric, 1st September, 1748.

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### No. 11

You have been informed, monsieur, of the unfortunate affair that has happened to Monsieur de Repentigny and of the judgment against him. Permit me to unite with those who crave pardon for him. It costs him too much in every way for his example to have dangerous consequences. . . . .

† L. M., Bishop of Quebec.

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### No. 12

#### REGISTRATION OF SUPERIOR COUNCIL

The Council having seen :

The letters of grace, pardon and remission obtained by Pierre Legardeur, esquire, Sieur de Repentigny, lieutenant of a company of the marine troops maintained for His Majesty's service in this country, the said letters dated in the month of April last, signed "Louis" and on the back "By the King, Phelippeaux," and on the side "Visa-Daguesseau," and sealed with the great seal in green wax with red and green ribbons, in connection with the homicide by him committed on the person of Nicolas Jaquin Philibert, merchant of this town ;

The informations and other criminal proceedings in connection therewith by the Lieutenant-general for civil and criminal

## APPENDIX

matters of the *Prévosté* of this town, on the petition both of the said *Philibert* in his life-time and of *Marie Anne Guerin*, his widow, the representative of the King's Procurator-General in the said *Prévosté*, being associated with him ;

The entry of the voluntary imprisonment of the said *Sieur de Repentigny* in the prison of this town, of the twenty-eighth September last ;

The judgment of the Council of the twenty-ninth of the said month on the presentation and reading of the said letters in the Council Chamber, in open sitting, in the presence of the of the said *Sieur de Repentigny* who was bareheaded and on his knees, and after making oath to speak the truth, he stated that he had given instructions to obtain them, that they contain the truth and that he wishes to make use thereof ; by which judgment the Council ordered that the said letters and informations be communicated to the King's Procurator-General, and copies thereof be given to the civil party to enable the same to show cause within the delay fixed by the ordinance ; the said *Sieur de Repentigny* to be heard and interrogated by *Maître Jacques Lafontaine*, Councillor, appointed by the Council as Commissioner in the case to report on the facts resulting from the said letters and information, so that, after the examination is held and also communicated to the said King's Procurator-general, such order may be given as may be deemed proper ;

His examination on the same day, the twenty-ninth of the same month of September, by the said *Maître Lafontaine*, the Reporting Commissioner, his answers, confession and denials ;

The notice served on the same day on the petition of the said *Sieur de Repentigny*, upon the said widow *Philibert*, of his said entry in the prison register, of the said Letters of Pardon and of the said judgment with summons to show cause, if any she has, against the same within the delay fixed by the ordinance ;

The return of service of a notice effected on the thirtieth of the said month of September on the petition of the said widow *Philibert* upon the said *Sieur de Repentigny* by the bailiff *Thibault* and signed by her and by the said bailiff, by which notice she declared that she had no cause to show against the ratification of the said letters served upon her, as she had been paid the civil damages and interest awarded her by the court, that moreover, she left the matter in the hands of the court as regards what is set forth in the said Letters notwithstanding the delays allowed her by the ordinance ;

The conclusions of the King's Procurator General of the first of this month.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Having heard and examined the said *Sieur de Repentigny* on the matters referring to him and contained in the said letters, the tenor whereof is as follows :

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to all present and to come: Greeting.

We have received the humble petition of *Sieur de Repentigny*, lieutenant of the troops maintained for Our service in Canada, professing the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion, setting forth : That on the twentieth January, 1748, having a billet quartering him, in his said capacity, on one *Nicolas Jacquin Philibert*, merchant of Quebec, the latter went to a woman named *Lapalme*, with whom the petitioner there lodged to induce her to continue to give him lodging, but that, being unable to agree with the woman as to the price, the said *Philibert* said he would have the billet changed.

That the petitioner, who was then within hearing of this conversation, addressed himself to *Philibert* and in a tone calculated to give him to understand that he would not be inconvenienced by the lodging he had to give him, he told him that it was silly on his part to try and effect the change. That *Philibert*, instead of taking this speech as a notice that the petitioner intended to give him in order to appease the anxiety such lodging seemed to cause him, allowed himself to be carried away by his naturally violent anger and not content with insulting the petitioner in a gross and vile manner, he struck him with a stick; that the petitioner on being so struck had, under the first impulse which he could not control, drawn his sword and struck the said *Philibert* who died some time afterwards, to the great regret of the petitioner ;

That although this misfortune happened without premeditated design and at a moment when the petitioner was no longer at liberty to stand without defending himself, the judges in Quebec had instituted proceedings in consequence whereof he deemed it advisable to absent himself and would not venture to present himself without first obtaining Our Letters of Grace, pardon and remission which he humbly begs us to be pleased to grant him ;

Wherefore, preferring mercy to the rigour of the Law, with the advice of Our Council and of Our special grace, full power and Royal authority we have granted and by these presents signed with Our hand, We do grant the *Sieur de Repentigny* grace, pardon and remission of the acts and charges as hereinabove set forth together with all penalties, fines, corporal, civil and criminal punishments he may have incurred towards

## APPENDIX

us and towards justice in consequence of the same, We set aside all decrees, all sentences of coutumacy for default, sentences, judgments and orders that may have been pronounced against the petitioner.

We restore him his good name and fame as well as his property not otherwise confiscated, after satisfaction to the civil party if this be not already done and if any be due.

We impose silence upon our Procurators General and their representatives, present and future and upon all others.

We also command our beloved and faithful members of Our Superior Council established in Quebec within whose jurisdiction the facts aforesaid have occurred, to ratify these presents, Our Letters of grace, pardon and remission and to cause the petitioner to fully, peacefully and perpetually enjoy what is set forth therein, ceasing and causing all troubles and hindrances thereto to cease. On condition that he shall present himself for the confirmation of these presents within six months, on pain of nullity.

For such is Our pleasure.

And in order that the same may endure for ever, We have caused Our seal to be affixed to these presents.

Given at Versailles, in the month of April in the year of Grace one thousand seven hundred and forty nine and of Our Reign the thirty fourth.

Signed: "Louis," and on the back: "By the King Phelippeaux," Visa-Daguesseau to be remitted to Darpentigny," and sealed with the great seal in green wax with red and green silk ribbons.

Having heard the report of Maître Jacques Lafontaine, Councillor, and upon the whole deliberated, the Council has ratified the said Letters of Remission that the said Sieur de Repentigny may enjoy the effects and contents thereof according to their form and tenor.

(Signed)

DELAFONTAINE, BIGOT

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No. 13

QUEBEC, 11th October, 1749.

Monseigneur,

I have the honour to report that the letters of pardon granted by the King to the Sieur de Repentigny have been ratified in the Superior Council and that officer has accordingly resumed his rank in the service.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

The widow and children of Philibert have just represented to me that if the said *Sieur de Repentigny* remains in this colonie they would have the unpleasantness of seeing the author of the death of the said *Philibert* ; this would be more disagreeable that the widow and children still feel the full weight of sorrow for so great a loss.

Moreover it is to be feared that the resentment on both sides may give rise to some regrettable occurrence.

I think therefore, *Monseigneur*, that it would be advisable to send the said *Sieur de Repentigny* to the Islands and to request you to give him some employment at *St. Domingo* or *Martinique*. That officer possesses very good qualities and in the event of its being impossible to give him a place in the islands, he would be well qualified for service at *Louisbourg* in the capacity of Captain. Pending the receipt of your orders he will serve in the *Montreal* garrison.

I remain with most profound respect, etc., etc.

LA JONQUIÈRE.

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## No. 14

Before the undersigned Royal notary in the *Prevosté* of *Quebec*, residing there and the witnesses heinafter mentioned, came and appeared :

Demoiselle *Marie Rénée Roussel*, widow of *Mr. Louis Chambalon*, in his lifetime Royal notary in the said *Prevôté* and *Magdeleine Roussel*, all residing in this town, who of their own free will have by these presents acknowledged to have sold, assigned, ceded, made over, transferred and abandoned henceforth and for ever, each with warranty on her own behalf against all disturbance, debts, hypothecs and other encumbrances generally whatsoever, to *Sieur Nicolas Jacquin dit Philibert*, merchant and Burgess, residing in this town, present and accepting, the purchaser, for himself, his heirs an assigns in future, to wit, a lot of land situate and being in this upper town in *Buade* street, containing eighty feet in front on the said street and sixty-three feet in depth and more if there be, bounded on one side by a road or lane leading from the *Chateau St. Louis* to the *Lower Town* and on the other side on the West by the land and lot of *Sieur Baune*, in front by the said *Buade* street

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and in rear by the land and lot of the Representatives of Monsieur Dauteuil with the two story stone house built thereon as the whole now is and stands closed and fenced in with upright stakes, without the said Demoiselles, the vendors, reserving or retaining anything, the said purchaser, declaring that he knows the said lot and the house built thereon through having visited and examined the same. The said property belongs to the said Demoiselles; the vendors, through having been adjudged to them by decree at the seat of the Prevosté in this town, dated the thirtieth of April, one thousand seven hundred and twenty as a property forming part of the succession of the late Sieur Thimothé Roussel, in his lifetime Master Surgeon of this town and of the late Demoiselle Magdeleine Dumortier Deleur, his wife, the father and mother of the Demoiselles, the vendors; to which said Sieur Roussel the said lot belonged to wit: forty-six feet in front on the said street and thirty-six feet in depth through a concession to him granted by the *fabrique* of this parish and by contract passed before the late Maître Becquet in his lifetime Royal notary in the said Prevosté dated the third of September one thousand six hundred and seventy-three; thirty-four other feet in front by a like depth of thirty-six feet through a gift to him made by Monsieur Chambly by deed before Mathieu Bonneau in his lifetime Royal notary in the Island of Martinique, dated the tenth of February one thousand six hundred and ninety-three registered at the seat of the Prevosté in this town on the twelfth of October of the said year after the expiration of the delay of ten months granted by the said Sieur Chambly for such registration mentioned in the said deed owing to the distance of the said place; the said quantity of land belonged to the said Sieur Chambly through the concession to him granted by the *fabrique* of this parish by contract before the said late Maître Becquet, dated third of September one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, the said two concessions being dependencies of the *fabrique* and the remainder of the said lot which is a dependency of the King's Domain having been conceded to the late Sieur Roussel by Monsieur the Comte de Frontenac, in his lifetime Governor and Lieutenant-general of the King in this country, as is established by the *procès-verbal* of Jean Le Rouge in his lifetime sworn land-surveyor in this country, dated the sixteenth day of June in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-seven, which states that by order of Monseigneur the Comte de Frontenac he measured a lot for the benefit of Thimothé Roussel, Master Surgeon, containing eighty feet in front on the side of the *Place d'Armes* and twenty-eight feet in depth on the side of the hill and thirty-two feet in depth on

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

the side of the unconceded lot, which said titles of concession and *procès-verbal*, together with the said gift and decree of adjudication, besides the copy of a contract constituting a rent of the sum of thirty livres, one fourth deducted, consented by the said late Sieur Roussel in favour of the said *fabrique* with the acquittance for the said Rent and the principal thereof passed before Maitre Boisseau, Royal notary in the said Prevosté, dated the twenty-eight August, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, have been presently delivered by the said Demoiselles, the vendors, into the hands of the said purchaser who has received them and relieves the said Demoiselles and all others from them.

This sale, assignment and transfer is so made on condition that the said purchaser shall pay in future every year from the first October next two *sols* as *cens* for which a portion of the said lot is liable towards the said *fabrique* of this town with forty *sols* of ground rent also annual, perpetual and unredeemable in favour of the same *fabrique*, besides the *cens* for which the other portion of the said lot is liable to the King's Domain, the amount of which *cens* the said Demoiselles, the vendors, on being thereunto required, could not state as to the present free and clear nevertheless, of all arrears of the said *cens et rentes* for the past to the said first day of October next, on which day the payment of the said *cens et rentes* is to be effected every year. Also for the price and sum of eight thousand *livres*, which said sum of eight thousand *livres*, the said purchaser promises and binds himself to pay to the said Demoiselles, the vendors, or order, six years from now at the latest and until then to pay the rent and interest every year at five per cent. Nevertheless in the event of the said purchaser paying any sums on account and in reduction of the aforesaid sum during the said six years, then and in such case the interest on the sums paid by him shall be deducted proportionately to the payments made by him on account of the principal, on which said principal of eight thousand *livres* the said Demoiselles Geneviève and Magdeleine Roussel have stated and declared that they are interested to the extent of three-fourths, namely, the sum of six thousand *livres*, owing to the sale of one fourth of the said lot and house to them by the late Sieur Jean Baptiste Demeule and Demoiselle Marie Louise Roussel, their brother-in-law and sister by contract before Maitre Hiché, Royal notary in the said Prevosté dated the—.

The copy of which deed the said Demoiselles Geneviève and Magdeleine Roussel promise to hand over immediately to the said purchaser, and, in consequence thereof, the said purchaser promises and binds himself to pay to the said Demoiselles Geneviève and Magdeleine Roussel, and to each of them

## APPENDIX

the sum of three thousand livres for their share of the price of the aforesaid sale and interest until the expiration of the term allowed, and to the said Demoiselle Marie Rénée Roussel, the other two thousand livres, being the one-fourth and the share she claims to have in the aforesaid lot with interest as aforesaid. And for the purposes of all the above, the said Sieur Philibert, the purchaser, has hypothecated all his property generally whatsoever present and future, and in particular the said lot and house presently sold without the general and special obligations derogating one from the other. Accordingly the said Demoiselles, the vendors, have assigned and transferred and do assign and transfer all rights of ownership and all other rights whatsoever which they may have or claim to have in and to the property now by them sold and whereof they did seize and divert themselves in favour of the said purchaser, his heirs and assigns, to enjoy and dispose of the same as his own property, in virtue of these presents, willing and consenting that he be placed in full possession and seizen thereof by whomsoever and as the same may appertain, constituting as attorney, etc., for thus, etc., promising and binding, etc., renouncing, etc.

Done and passed at Quebec in the office of the said notary on the seventh June, one thousand seven hundred and thirty four in the afternoon, in the presence of Sieurs Louis Burgevin and Alexis Brunet, witnesses residing in Quebec aforesaid, who, with the said Demoiselles, the vendors, the said purchaser and the undersigned notary, have signed these presents first duly read according to the ordinance.

(Signed)

ROUSSEL, VEUVE LAMBER.  
MADELEINE ROUSSEL.  
BURGEVIN.

G. ROUSSEL, VEUVE.  
CHAMBALON.  
PHILIBERT.  
BRUNET.

(JACQUES PINQUET, R. N.)

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## No. 15

Before the aforesaid and undersigned notary came and appeared, Demoiselle Louise Roussel, widow of Sieur Jacques Pagé, who in her own name and as common as to property with the said late Sieur Pagé, acknowledged to have received from the said Sieur Nicolas Philibert, the Sieur Charles Turpin, practitioner in this town the sum of five thousand one hundred and

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

sixty livres, to wit : four thousand six hundred and fifteen *livres*, seventeen *sols* and four *deniers* in acquittances and five hundred and forty *livres*, two *sols*, eight *deniers* in money, which said two sums together make up the first aforesaid sum of five thousand one hundred and sixty *livres*, besides that of forty-one *livres*, one *sol*, six *deniers* for interest due from the fifth March, 1745, to this date ; also that of one hundred and sixty-seven *livres*, seventeen *sols*, six *deniers*, for costs to which he has been condemned by judgment of the Council dated the twenty-ninth of August last and executory on the ninth of this month. The whole on account of the rights which the said widow may claim to have in the sale mentioned in the above deed, the said Sieur Philibert making all reservations as regards the sum of 269 *livres* mentioned in a note of the 30th of October, 1741, initialled by Monsieur the Lieutenant-general of the Prevosté of this town on the 5th of April last and being one of the items of the account served by the widow Lambert on the eight of June, 1741, together with interest and the costs to which he was condemned by the aforesaid judgment for re-payment of the said sum of 269 *livres* together with the interest and costs. The said Sieur Philibert reserves the right to proceed against whomsoever and as it may appertain. The said Sieur Philibert also acknowledges having received from the said widow Pagé the documents in the proceedings.

For thus, etc., Promising, etc., etc., etc.

Done and passed at Quebec aforesaid in the office of the said notary in the forenoon of the twelfth of September, 1746, in the presence of the Sieurs Nicolas Bellevue and Alexis Brunet, witnesses residing in Quebec aforesaid who with the said Widow Pagé, the said Sieur Turpin and the undersigned notary have signed these presents first duly read.

BELLEVUE-BRUNET.

VEUVE PAGÉ,  
C. TURPIN,  
PINQUET,

---

PHILIBERT.—From 20th January 1757,—Buade Street.

The widow Philibert who showed us a deed of sale in her favour by the widow and heirs Lambert by contract before Pinquet, notary, the 7th June 1734, in virtue whereof she possesses in the *censive* of His Majesty a lot and house situate in de

## APPENDIX

Buade street, 80 feet in front by 32 in depth and whereas she has been unable to find the original title to ascertain the *cens et rentes*, we have fixed them at five *sols six deniers* per annum.

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### THE NEW PARK

In September, 1901, the Dominion Government purchased from the Community of the Ursulines the ground commonly called "The Race Course", and transferred it to the Corporation of the City of Quebec for the purposes of a public park.

Under the administration of the Honourable S. N. Parent, the Mayor, plans were prepared for beautifying the western part of the city, and in the course of time this hitherto vacant piece of land will be converted into a picturesque resort.

For many years the Race Course has been regarded by the tourist, and even by many of the inhabitants, as forming not only part of the property once owned by Abraham Martin, after whom the Plains, or Heights, were named, but also as the site of the famous contest between Wolfe and Montcalm.

This ground, however, was never in the possession of Abraham Martin, and it had no connection with the British victory in 1759, or with the British defeat in 1760.

The land comprised within the area of the new park was ceded by the French crown in five divisions to the following inhabitants of Quebec.—The Sieur de Maur, Denis Duquet, Guil. Gaultier, Antoine Brassard, and Pierre and Gervais Normand. The first concession was dated November 14th, 1647, and the last on the 8th of May, 1651; and the whole property was transferred to the Ursulines a few years after. The date of the last transfer was November 20th, 1678. The whole of the property thus transferred by the original owners to the community of the Ursulines, has remained in their possession until it was sold to the Dominion Government in 1901.

With the expansion of the city westward, the enclosure was used as a military parade ground, and many brilliant reviews were held there, the last being in the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cornwall and York, in September, 1901.

During the first half century of British rule the military displays were held nearer to the city, as may be seen by the plans made at the time.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

### THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

Much misconception has existed within comparatively modern times as to the site of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham ; and for many years past the Race Course, now converted into a Park, has been pointed out as the exact place.

The error arose through the statement made by a writer about sixty years ago, who placed the battle upon this ground, and his *ipse dixit* has been accepted and copied over and over again by writers ever since, until the statement has been accepted as a fact.

To an ordinary observer the Race Course would no doubt be hailed as an ideal battle field. Wolfe, however, was not an ordinary observer, and he chose the place, as he told his Brigadiers shortly before the battle, where he thought he could best succeed. He could scarcely hope to have been successful if he had chosen the ground of the Race Course.

The place chosen by Wolfe, as we find by the plans made by his Officers, and by the documents which they prepared for the express purpose of showing the site of the Battle, was nearer the city. This ground afforded Wolfe the advantage of a rising ground on his right, and the protection of several houses on his left. Wolfe's line of battle extended almost from the cliff near the river St. Lawrence to the St. Foy Road, in a line with de Salaberry Street ; and Montcalm's army met in a parallel line separated by only a distance of 40 yards. The exact position of both armies is shown on the plan accompanying this work, and a more detailed description is to be found in " The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham ".

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### THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

The history of the Plains or Heights of Abraham commences in the days of the Founder of Quebec, 1635, one hundred and fourteen years before the decisive battle in which both Wolfe and Montcalm found a soldier's grave. In the archives of the Ursuline Convent may still be seen the deed of concession by which the land, now so widely known, was ceded to Abraham Martin. This document is dated the 4th of December, 1635, and it is of special interest because it contains a reference to the

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illness of Champlain, who died twenty-one days after its completion. Thirteen years later, on the 10th of October, 1648, Abraham Martin acquired the adjoining property, making a total of thirty-two acres. These two parcels of land were bounded on the north by Cote Ste. Genevieve, on the south by a line parallel with St. Louis road, two hundred yards north, on the east by Ste. Genevieve street, and on the west by Claire Fontaine street, officially described as the Fontaine d'Abraham.

This ground appears to have been used for pasturage in Martin's time, and as very little of the land in the immediate vicinity was under cultivation, Abraham's cattle wandered at pleasure over the adjoining fields, and thus the name of The Plains or Heights of Abraham was given to a far larger tract of land than that confined by the boundaries of the concession.

A reference to the plan of the battle shows that on the 13th of September, 1759, the right wing of Montcalm's army occupied a part of the original ground owned by Martin, and thus this land was closely associated with the commencement and termination of the French Regime. In the course of time this property was sold for building purposes, and for many years it has been thickly studded with dwellings.

Abraham Martin was a Pilot, and in the early days of the Colony was a man of importance, but in his later years he appears to have forfeited much of the good opinion of his fellow-citizens. He was the father of a large family, and all his children were highly respected, and some of them rose to eminence. For many years after the close of the campaign of 1759, the *Plains of Abraham* were the scene of grand military displays. The first of importance took place on the 29th of August, 1787, in the presence of His Royal Highness, Prince William Henry, and the Governor. An excellent description of this sham battle is found in a manuscript plan of the time, now in Washington :—

### "ORDER OF BATTLE."

#### "ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM"—(1787)

Brigadier General Hope.

Brigade Major Skene.

Grenadiers, Major Ancram 34th Regt.

Light Infantry Major Duff, 26th Regt

Commanding Lt. Col. Hastings 34th Regt.

Royal Artillery Major Goll.

1st Brigade.—5th Regt. Major Smith.

4th Regt. Major Campbell.

Commanding Major Campbell.

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Reserve.—34th Regiment Major Ross.

2nd Brigade.—31st Regt. Major Cotton.

2th Regt. Captain Burrows.

Commanding Major Cotton.

Various movements of the troops are shown on the plan. In one position the 5th, 29th, 34th, 31st and 26th Regiments are formed in a line facing north along the Grand Allée, between the Drill Hall and Claire Fontaine Street, near which, on the south side of the street, is shown the gallows. Another position shows the troops on the St. Foy road near Scott street and a third position places the men on the St. Foy road near the monument, with a movement towards Sillery. On the St. Foy road a farm house was supposed to be fortified. The Cove Fields, the Gaol hill, the Race Course and nearly all the ground was included in the movements, but the principal operations were on the St. Foy road, nearer to the city.

With the expansion of the city the space available for military operations was gradually restricted, until the Race Course, commonly called the Plains or heights of Abraham, was the only place left suitable for a parade ground.

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## THE COVE FIELDS

The Cove Fields, the property of the Federal Government, are bounded on the north by the rear of the houses on the Grand Allée, on the south by the River St. Lawrence, on the east by the walls of the city, and on the west by the Martello Tower, No. 2. On the old plans of Quebec, a large portion of these fields is enclosed under the name of "The King's Field," and near the handsome stone building known as the "Drill Hall," there was a windmill, and beyond this, westward, the town gallows.

On the rising ground in the vicinity of the targets may be seen the ruins of old fortifications. These ruins are erroneously described by local historians, and on map Baedeker's (1900) as the remains of "French Fort."

These works are of British origin, and were commenced on the 9th of October, 1779, under an order signed by General Haldimand, and the original plans and the progress plans of the work, may be seen by the student in the splendid collection of plans which has been rendered available His Excellency, the Earl of Minto.

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From time to time, portions of the fields have been occupied by the Government for factories, such as the Cartridge factory ; and recently a large area has been acquired by Sir Charles Ross for a small arms factory. This building obstructs the magnificent view which was obtained in a westerly direction, and it also considerably limits the recreation ground.

For many years the links of the Quebec Golf Club have been on the Cove Fields, and at one time there were none better in Canada. The erection of so many buildings, however, has considerably interfered with the location of the holes, and consequently the round has been shortened. The Royal Victoria Curling Club is at present erecting a building adjoining the Skating Rink, and quarters are to be allotted to the Golf Club in this club house. The Cove Fields appeal equally to the citizens of Quebec whether of French or English origin, and it is a matter of regret that intelligent interest was not devoted to the preservation of this unrivalled recreation ground at an opportune time.

### ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

On the 13th of October, 1835, an advertisement appeared in the *Quebec Gazette*, and in the *Mercury*, inviting all persons of English origin who were interested in the formation of a St. George's Society, to attend a meeting to be held at the Albion Hotel on the 16th of October.

This meeting was numerously attended, and a Committee was chosen by ballot, composed of the following gentlemen. Messrs. C. F. Alywin, LeMessurier, H. H. Kerr, W. Kemble, John Bonner, J. C. Fisher and J. Dyde.

The meeting was adjourned until the 13th of November, but on that day the Rules and Regulations were not completed, and therefore the meeting was further adjourned until the 20th of November. The articles were agreed to at this meeting, and from that date St. George's Society has continued its good work.

Mr. H. T. Machin, the President of the St. George's Society in 1902, in the course of his remarks at the Dinner of a sister society, ably set forth the aims of the founders of St. George's Society and the work accomplished by its members ; we therefore make an extract from his speech on that occasion.

" Our national Friendly Societies owe their origin to the disposition of Scotchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen in foreign Countries and in Colonies of the Empire, to help such of their fellow countrymen and countrywomen as owing to misfortune or sickness are in need of aid.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

"On this continent these Societies existed in the old colonies prior to the American Revolution, and they are numerous and prosperous in Canada and the United States at the present time. The St. George's Society of Quebec is, I believe, of the same age as the St. Andrew's Society, having been established in 1835, and among its first members will be found the names of many whose descendants are occupying leading positions in Quebec to-day.

The objects of the Society, at the time of its formation, were stated to be to aid English and Welsh immigrants and their descendants when in need; to comfort and relieve the sick, aged and infirm; to assist orphans and destitute children, and generally to do all that a Benevolent Society ought of right to do.

It was also declared to be the duty of its members to cherish amongst themselves and their descendants, veneration for, and attachment to, the Institutions of the Mother country. I think, Mr. President, that the records of the St. George's Society of Quebec will show that its members have carried out the objects for which the Society was formed and that, while the principal part of its revenues and the efforts of its members have been devoted to the relief of those of English or Welsh descent, a liberal portion of its income has been distributed among charitable institutions that are attached to no particular nationality.

I think that I may also say that the members of the St. George's Society of Quebec while proud of their race and devoted to the upholding of English institutions in this country, and to the maintenance of its connection with the Empire, are not in favour of perpetuating national divisions amongst our population: divisions which are gradually being obliterated by the inter-marriages between those of English, Scotch, Irish and French descent—but are desirous of hastening the time when all the people of Canada, irrespective of origin, will be imbued with a common Canadian patriotism worthy of our great and beautiful country—a patriotism that is necessary to develop strengthen and advance us as a people, and make this Dominion of Canada the most powerful and valuable unit of the British Empire beyond the seas."

According to the last report, there were 280 members on the books of the Society.

The Hon. Treasurer of the St. George's Society is Mr. E. J. Hale.

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### YOUNG MENS' CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

On the 1st January, 1870, a meeting was held in Jeffery Hale's Sunday School, to consider what steps were necessary for the organization of a Young Mens' Christian Association for the city of Quebec. The Rev. David Marsh presided, and Mr. W. Ahearn acted as chairman. At an adjourned meeting held on the 25th of January, the late Henry Fry was elected President of the Association, the late D. Wilkie, 1st Vice-President, C. P. Champion, 2nd Vice-President, W. Ahearn, Secretary, and J. C. Thompson, Treasurer, and the Committee was formed of the following gentlemen : James Hamilton, Geo. Lamb, W. A. Marsh, H. W. Powis, D. McPhie, W. Brodie, S. H. Robertson.

The first meetings were held in the Jeffery Hale School Room, but in March, 1870, rooms were leased in a building formerly occupied by Belanger & Co. Three years later more extensive accommodation was required, and rooms were leased over McLeod's Drug Store, in Fabrique Street, which served for the needs of association until 1880. In 1879, steps were taken to raise a fund for the erection of the main part of the present substantial building, which was opened on the 20th of April, 1880.

In the year 1894 steps were taken to secure the funds necessary for the building of a gymnasium. In the course of two years a sufficient sum had been secured to commence the work, and in 1897 the contracts were given out.

The building is well arranged, and is provided with a class room, a library, reading-room, and reception rooms.

In the season the gymnasium is much frequented.

There is provision made for all kinds of physical exercise, and the members of the permanent force both Artillery and Infantry, are admitted to membership at a reduced rate. There is also an excellent swimming bath. A regular course of instruction in commercial subjects is provided in the winter season.

The following gentlemen have filled the office of President : Henry Fry, 1870-8 ; John C. Thompson, 1878-89 ; Robert Stanley, 1890 ; W. C. Scott ; 1891-94 ; W. A. Marsh, 1895-99 ; G. W. Parmelee, 1899-0 ; W. W. Wiggs, 1900-1 ; L. C. Webster, 1901 ; John Thompson, 1903.

The Secretary of the Association is W. H. Distin.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

### L'AUDITORIUM DE QUEBEC

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*Note by MR. BARTHE, Secretary of the Auditorium Co.*

Such is the legal name of a local company incorporated in April 1902 with a capital stock of \$100,000 to provide the city with a first class theatre. The City authorities made for that purpose a free gift of a vacant lot situate close to St. John's Gate, which had been conceded to them by the Dominion Government.

The Auditorium buildings, the inauguration of which took place on the thirty-first of August 1903, comprise : 1. A capacious theatre Hall, 90 feet long, 75 feet wide and 45 feet high, besides the stage space, which is 35 feet deep, 70 feet wide and 70 feet high, along side of which are the artists' dressing rooms in a four story wing ; 2. A four story building fronting on St. John Street, 85 x 50 feet, the ground and second floors to be used as a fashionable Café and Restaurant with grille rooms, ladies and gentlemen's drawing and café rooms, the upper stories designed to be rented as lodge or club-rooms, for a conservatory of music, and other like purposes ; 3. An arched promenade connecting the café with the Theatre.

The street facade is designed in a curve, so as to be visible from the western end of St. John street, and its elaborate French Renaissance style makes it an ornament for the city. The grille-room on the first floor is finished in the style of the old English inns, with beam ceiling, high wainscoting and fire places.

The approach to the theatre is through an arched promenade after the order of an arcade, with booths for the sale of flowers, confectionery &c., and a terrace on the side which is used in conjunction with the Café during the summer months, modelled after the outdoor cafés of Paris. At the end of the promenade is a large lobby, where tickets are sold for the performances, with entrances to the carriage porch and galleries.

The entrance to the theatre proper is a large foyer, 16 by 34 feet, with wide stairways to the balcony and smoking rooms, and entrances to the Auditorium, ladies parlors and cloak rooms.

The seating capacity of the Auditorium is 1800, with standing room for 200. The hall, with its sweeping balconies, boxes and galleries, is finished in French Renaissance style, with roomy aisles and wide seats.

Few theatre buildings are more immune against fire than the Quebec Auditorium, which is completely isolated on all sides,



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and provided with ample fire escapes making the number of exits twenty-three in all. The boiler room is an outside fire proof vault, the whole building being heated by steam and lighted by electricity ; and a special 4 inch supply pipe runs from the street to the back of the stage board, providing ample sprinkling in case of fire. The galleries on one side have a direct landing on the fortification wall, which may be used in the summer months as a promenade between the acts : a feature which is probably unique in the history of theatres.

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## FIRE BRIGADE

The Quebec Fire Brigade was inaugurated on the 16th of September, 1866, with Mr. James Ferguson as chief, Mr. Léon Lemieux, as deputy and about fifteen men. Six or seven years afterwards Mr. Felix St. Michel succeeded Mr. Ferguson as chief, and Mr. Léon Lemieux became deputy. In 1875 Mr. Léon Lemieux replaced Chief St. Michel and Mr. Matthew Coleman was named deputy. On the 16th February, 1877, Mr. Philippe Dorval was appointed chief, and Mr. Matthew Coleman, assistant.

On the 12th of February, 1896, Deputy-chief Coleman died, and a few weeks afterwards was replaced by Mr. John Walsh and Mr. Edward Martinette. The brigade consists at present of a chief, two deputies, 8 captains and 52 firemen. A new station has recently been established at St. Amable Street, Montcalm Ward, with 10 men and 7 horses. There are at present.

Nine stations

36 horses

3 steam engines

10 hose-reels

2 large fire escape ladders (75 feet long)

4 ladder-waggons

1 chemical engine

3 vehicles for the chief and his two deputies.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

### FIRE SHIPS

(*Note by MAJOR WOOD*)

As fire ships and radeaux-à-feu played a conspicuous part in the siege of Quebec in 1759 it is interesting to note the regular way of preparing them in those days. What is still more pertinent to the present work is to notice that Vaudreuil's fire ships and rafts were many times more expensive than the proper ones, and yet they were just as many times less effective. A fire ship cost, roughly, about five dollars per ton to prepare. Five-inch timbers were hollowed into troughs and laid in two tracks a couple of feet apart round the deck; these were connected by cross troughs, and all communicated with each other and with the stopped port-holes, which were designed to blow open and let out the fire when it had gained headway, and also with the pitch-barrels which spread the fire into the masts and rigging. The deck and troughs were all well laid with melted rosin. Funnels were arranged to create a strong updraught from between decks towards the rigging. A communicating trough to a sally-port in the ship's side, laid with quick match, enabled the crew to fire the ship all over in a minute or two. The spread and fierceness of the fire was much helped by the priming composition, each barrel of which contained one hundred pounds of gunpowder, fifty pounds of saltpetre, forty pounds of sulphur, six pounds of rosin and three pints of oil, a truly infernal mixture!

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### BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE TOWNSHEND

It is somewhat remarkable that writers on the Seven Years' War, and more particularly on the Campaign of 1759, have failed to do justice to that great silent arm of the Service, the Navy, or to recognize the brilliant services of Wolfe's second Brigadier, George Townshend. And yet without the hearty and effective co-operation of the navy, the execution of all Wolfe's carefully laid plans for the reduction of Quebec would have been impossible, and without the assistance of Townshend, his victory would have been incomplete. It is true that it is only within the last few months that the papers upon which his fame must ultimately rest, have been brought to light; but they might have been discovered long ago by persistent research. Historians, however, have been content to cast a stone at him, without apparently caring whether there was any truth in their remarks

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or. not. Townshend was a remarkable character, and while abuse was directed against him from all quarters, he remained silent, and would not even give those who were willing to defend him, the weapons with which to do so. His friends constantly injured his memory, while the production of his own writings, and official documents, would, in every case have furnished a complete refutation of the numerous charges which were made against him. It is singular also that even till this day, it is his own people who have injured him the most. In the year 1901, Colonel Townshend, a descendant of the family, published "The Military Life of George, First Marquess Townshend," and although he could have had access to all the papers that would have placed his ancestor in a true light, he failed to make use of them, and went out of the way to drag in secondary evidence to establish claims for the Marquess, which he himself had expressly denied.

To Wolfe alone must be given the merit of the plan by which Quebec was taken ; but to George Townshend belongs the honour of setting the seal to that victory which Wolfe's brilliant tactics had made possible.

Townshend had the misfortune in life to suffer from the misdirected efforts of his friends, who for political purposes claimed for him the honour of the victory of Quebec. Townshend's own official letters, which have now been brought to light, prove beyond question that he never even claimed his proper share in that victory. His remarkable career after the Siege of Quebec, and his deep interest in Canadian affairs, are all matters of which historians have told us nothing. These papers are shortly to be published, and they will show to us the Brigadier in a character which we little suspect, and one which is entirely at variance with anything which we now possess of him.

Lord Chesterfield appears to have held Townshend in high esteem. Writing a few years before his death he says :—"It has been observed long ago that to be reproached and defamed is a tax that every man must pay, for being eminent ; eminence of whatever kind naturally produces envy ; and envy without any opposition of interest, without any prospect of advantage, except the gratification of its own malignity, is always busy in the prosecution of its object. But the same merit that excites envy to defamation, naturally renders it difficult, by securing the testimony of truth in its favour, envy therefore of necessity must have recourse to falsehood, and before she can impute faults must make them. . . . ."

"The expediency of Government, like that of medicine, arises from the imperfection of human nature, and it may as

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

" reasonably be expected that medicine should be pleasant, as  
" that government should be administered without offence.....  
" No chief governor ever appeared to have the welfare of this  
" country more at heart by the general tenor of his conduct, nor  
" can any administration be remembered in which so many acts  
" passed for the support of the constitution, the defence of the  
" country, and the security of the public money from waste and  
" dissipation."

Speaking of Quebec, he says : " To be called in a moment  
to the command of troops in such a situation, to stand in the place  
and perform the duty of two such persons as Wolfe and Monckton  
who had within a very short time been stricken upon the field,  
was a severe test both of courage and ability, to which, however  
Lord Townshend shewed himself equal."

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## ST. PATRICK'S LITERARY INSTITUTE

(Notes by MR. M. F. WALSH, of Ottawa, and MR. T. J. WALSH,  
of Quebec.)

This Institute was founded on the 28th of December, 1852,  
by the Reverend Father James Nelligan, for the benefit of the  
members of St. Patrick's Congregation. The first President  
was the late Honourable Mr. Sharples, father of the Honourable  
John Sharples, M. L. C. The Council was composed of the  
following gentlemen :—

President,	Mr. John Sharples.
1st Vice-President,	" Michael Connolly.
2nd Vice-President,	" John Doran.
Treasurer,	" J. P. O'Meara.
Recording-Secretary,	" Charles J. Colfer.
Assistant Recording-Secretary,	" Mr. J. C. Nolan.
Corresponding-Secretary,	" Matthew Ryan.
Assist. Corresponding-Secy.,	" Moore A. Higgins.

Council :—William Quinn, William Mackay, John O'Leary,  
Lawrence Stafford, Michael Mernagh, James Mackay, Phillip  
Whitty, Thomas J. Murphy, Maurice O'Leary, James Foley.

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Of the sixty-nine founders only six are now living, viz

Messrs. Arthur H. Murphy,  
James A. Green,  
Matthew W. Clark,  
James Connolly,  
Jeremiah C. Nolan;  
John Giblin.

None of the above gentlemen are now residents of the city. The numbers given indicate the names as they appear on the Treasurer's book.

The institute was opened by a lecture from the late Rev. Father Kerrigan, a man of brilliant talents. Amongst other notable lecturers the following will give an idea of the scope and aims of the Institute.

Rev. Henry Giles, who was a Unitarian Minister. His fame as a lecturer was world-wide.

Mr. Ives. This gentleman was at one time Protestant Bishop of North or South Carolina, and author of the celebrated work, "The Trials of a Mind," in which he gives his reasons for his change of Faith, by stepping down from being a Bishop with its big salary, to become a layman and a school master.

Thomas d'Arcy McGee. Of this gentlemen his name, being of later date, is quite sufficient ; suffice it to say that unlike the others he appeared several times before the Institute as a lecturer.

The Rev. Dr. Cahill, gave a series of six lectures.

The Institute gave its first Soirée on the 17th March, 1857, in their Hall, in rear of St. Patrick Church. The Soirée was suggested and organized by the Rev. Father Colfer, yet living. The programme is still in existence.

The 25th anniversary was celebrated by a grand concert. Strictly speaking the Institute was not an Irish Society. While all its members were Irish and Catholic, of course, it was instituted for the purpose of advancing in a social and literary point of view, the interests of Catholics speaking the English language.

In the year 1876, the Institute bought the present hall, Tara Hall, paying therefor the sum of five thousand five hundred dollars. There was some little trouble in perfecting the titles to the property for the reason that the late Jefferey Hale, who owned the house at one time, stipulated in the deed of gift to a Protestant sect, that the hall should never be loaned or leased for anything Catholic—not even for a Catholic charity. At the time the Institute bought the Hall, it was then being used as a theatre, and owned by Mr. Thomas H. Grant.

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Thirty five years after the foundation of the Institute to a day, namely 28th December 1887, the Hall was totally destroyed by fire. The Institute rebuilt on the same ground.

In the life of the ever to be lamented Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died in Ireland's cause in 1798, (the author is Moore the Poet), we find that the deceased nobleman was a visitor in Quebec and spent a St. Patrick's Day there in 1789. Lord Edward was then an Officer in the British army, and his regiment was in that year stationed in New Brunswick, as on the 2nd September, 1788, he writes from Frederick's Town (sic) to his "dearest, dearest mother," telling her of a trip he and some friends intended making in canoes some two hundred and fifty miles up the river St. John to Grand Falls, which he says "are by all accounts beautiful." Again, on 21st November, in a letter, he says that he means to go to Quebec "in snowshoes." On the 14th March, 1789, he writes to his "dearest mother" that he had arrived in Quebec on the previous day. His party consisted of a brother officer, his own servant and "two woodmen." They were thirty days on the march, "twenty-six of which were in the woods, and never saw a soul but our own party." Mentioning his arrival in Quebec, he says :

"When we got here, you may guess what figures we were: we had not shaved or washed during the journey; our blanket coats and trousers all worn out and pieced; in short we went to two or three houses and they would not let us in. There was one old lady, exactly the *hôtesses*, in *Gil Blas*, *elle me fait la mesure du pied jusqu'à la tête*, and told me there was one room, without a stove or bed, next a billiard room, which I might have if I pleased; and when I told her we were gentlemen, she very quietly said: "I dare say you are," and off she went. However, at last we got lodgings in an ale-house, and you may guess, eat well and slept well, and went next day, well dressed, with one of Lord Dorchester's aides-de-camp, to triumph over the old lady; in short, exactly the story in *Gil Blas*. On the 12th April he was still in Quebec, as on that date he writes to his step-father, Mr. Ogilvie, (over whom, by the way, he shows great affection), saying that he did not expect to get away for some time, but would fill up the interval visiting the outposts. A letter from Mr. Hamilton Moore, to the Duke of Richmond, dated Quebec, 22nd May, 1789, mentions Lord Edward's arrival after a journey of 175 miles by the route he had taken, instead of the 375 miles, involved in the route usually taken, via the rivers St. John, Madawaska and Kamouraska. On the 4th May, he writes to his "dearest mother" from Montreal where he had then been

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for a week, intending to "set off in a few hours for his long journey" down the Mississippi. In this letter he writes: "I have nothing new to tell you, for at Quebec, and here I have done nothing but feast, and I am horribly tired of it. . . . The Canadians are a good people,—very like the French,—and of course I like them. There was one family at Quebec very pleasant and very good to me,—a mother and two pretty daughters. Don't be afraid,—I was not in love. We were very sorry to part."

Now there are a couple interesting points—one particularly interesting—that possibly some old records or family traditions may solve: Who was the "old lady" who opined that Lord Edward and his friend *might* possibly be gentlemen? And, more important still, who were the "mother and two pretty daughters" of whom Lord Edward writes in such kindly terms?"

St. Patrick's Day is fittingly honoured in Quebec every year, and a concert or dramatic representation usually takes place in the evening, preceded by a speech from a leading Irish orator. At the gathering, in 1901, a memorable address was delivered by the Honourable Charles Fitzpatrick, LL. D., the present Minister of Justice.

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## ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY

In the short sketch of St. Andrew's Church it will be seen that from the earliest days of British rule in Canada services were provided for the natives of Scotland who had settled in Quebec. The work of relieving Scottish emigrants, or those in distress, was therefore undertaken by the members of the congregation, as occasion required. As early as the year 1836 there appears to have been some definite organization in this respect under the direction of Dr. Cook and Dr. Douglas, and the charitable work was carried on for a long time by a Society known as St. Andrew's Society of Quebec.

After many years the Society sought incorporation under an Act which was assented to on the 1st of February, 1870. The preamble of this Act reads as follows:—

Whereas the president and members of the association, which hath for many years existed in Quebec under the name of the St. Andrew's Society of Quebec, have, by their petition to the Legislature, represented that the said association has been formed for the benevolent purpose of affording pecuniary, medical, and other relief, to such natives of Scotland and their descendants, as may from sickness or other causes have fallen

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into distress, and of aiding, directing and relieving the necessities of Scottish immigrants on their arrival in Canada, and hath prayed for the better attainment of the objects of the said association, it may be invested with corporated powers; and by reason of the good effected by the said association, it is expedient to grant the prayer of the said petition,

Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislature of Quebec, enacts as follows :—

John Cook Thomson, D. McPherson, John Laird, P. McNaughton, A. Nicoll, A. Robertson, jr., J. W. Cook, J. Fraser, C. Wilkie, T. G. Hunter, J. Cook, D. D., W. B. Clark, W. Brodie, W. D. Campbell, James Dean, J. Gilmour, J. Gibb, W. Hossack, G. Irvine, L. T. McPherson, J. McNaughton, D. McGie, P. Paterson, J. G. Ross, J. Ross, McLean Stuart, R. Shaw, R. Casbels, A. Stuart, H. S. Scott, M. Stevenson, J. Thomson, D. Wilkie, W. Walker, D. A. Ross, and such other persons as are now members of the said association, or shall hereafter become members of the same, shall be, and are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name of the "St. Andrew's Society of Quebec."

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## THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Reference is made on page 194 of this work, to the contemplated demolition of Morrin College, in which the Literary and Historical Society has quarters.

Arrangements have been made, however, by which the College will undergo considerable alteration, and more space is to be allotted to the Society. Through the generosity of Dr. James Douglas, a sum of \$500 is to be paid annually to the Society for the purchase of new books, and this amount is to be augmented by a liberal grant on the part of the governors of Morrin College. With this substantial assistance the Society will be able to resume the publication of valuable documents, and with an increase of membership it should be in a position to regain its former reputation.

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## APPENDIX

### SOME OF THE STREETS OF QUEBEC

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#### SOUVENIRS CONNECTED WITH THEIR ORIGIN

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- BUADE**—In remembrance of Louis de Buade, Count de Palluau et de Frontenac, Governor of New France in 1672.
- BURTON**—Sir F. N. Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, in 1808.
- CARILLON**—The famous battle in which Montcalm greatly distinguished himself.
- CARLETON**—Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada in 1768.
- CARON**—The Hon. R. E. Caron, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec in 1873.
- CHAMPLAIN**—Samuel Champlain, Founder of Quebec in 1608.
- CHARLEVOIX**—A Jesuit, Historian of New France.
- CHÉNIER**—Instigator of the rebellion in St. Eustache.
- CHRISTIE**—Robert Christie, a Canadian historian.
- CLAIRE FONTAINE**—Named after the spring on Abraham Martin's property.
- COLLINS**—A land surveyor of Quebec towards the end of the 18th century.
- CONROY**—Mgr Conroy, Bishop of Ardagh in Ireland, apostolic delegate to Canada.
- COOK**—Named after Dr. Cook, of St. Andrew's Church.
- COTE D'ABRAHAM**—Named after Abraham Martin, a Pilot, and one of the first inhabitants of Quebec.
- DAMBOURGÈS**—A French Canadian Colonel who contributed to the defeat of Arnold in 1775.
- D'AIGUILLON**—The Duchesse d'Aiguillon, Foundress of the Hotel Dieu.
- D'ARGENSON**—Pierre Voyer, Vicomte d'Argenson, governor of New France in 1658.
- DE JUMONVILLE**—A French officer assassinated under Washington.
- D'ARTIGNY**—A French bibliophile and savant who died in 1847.
- D'AUTEUIL**—A Quebec family, of note, formerly very numerous.
- DE COURCELLES**—Governor of New France, in 1665.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

- DAULAC**—Adam Daulac (or Dollard) des Ormeaux, the hero of the Long Sault, May 21st, 1660.
- DOLLARD**—Same as above.
- DE SALABERRY**—The hero of Chateauguay.
- DE TRACY**—Lieutenant of the King in New France.
- DE VILLIERS**—A brother of Jumonville.
- D'IBERVILLE**—Third son of M. de Longueuil, a most valorous soldier.
- DONNACONA**—Chief of the Indian village of Stadacona, in the time of Jacques Cartier.
- DORCHESTER**—A Governor-General of Canada. (See Carleton).
- DUQUESNE**—Governor of New France, in 1752.
- D'YOUVILLE**—The foundress of the Grey Nuns in Montreal.
- DU FORT**—The road that formerly led to the Chateau of St. Louis.
- DU PALAIS** (Palace)—The street ending at the palace of the Intendant.
- DU PARLOIR**—The street adjacent to the parlour of the Ursuline convent.
- DU TRÉSOR**—The Treasurer of the Marine lived in the vicinity.
- DUFFERIN**—Governor General of Canada in 1872.
- ELGIN**—Governor General of Canada in 1846.
- FERLAND**—A priest and historian of Canada.
- FRONTENAC**—Governor of New France. (See Buade St.)
- GARNEAU**—A historian of Canada.
- GRANDE ALLÉE**—A street that dates from the time of Montmagny, the second Governor of New France.
- GOSFORD**—Governor General in 1835.
- GUYART**—The family name of Mother Mary of the Incarnation, the foundress of the Ursuline Convent.
- HALDIMAND**—Sir F. Haldimand, Governor of Canada in 1777.
- HAMEL**—Abraham Hamel, merchant.
- HÉBERT**—Louis Hébert, the first inhabitant.
- HENDERSON**—William Henderson the owner of the adjoining land.
- JACQUES CARTIER**—The discoverer of Canada.
- JOLIETTE**—Louis Jolliet, the explorer.
- LALEMANT**—A Jesuit martyr.

## APPENDIX

**LANGELIER**—Hon. Mr. F. Langelier, a former mayor of Quebec.  
**LANGEVIN**—Sir Hector Langevin, a former mayor, and minister of the Crown.

**LANDSLOWNE**—Governor-General of Canada in 1885.

**LA SALLE**—An explorer and discoverer.

**LETELLIER**—Lieutenant-governor of the Province.

**LÉVIS**—The Marquis de Lévis.

**MARCHAND**—A Prime Minister of the Province.

**MCMAHON**—The first pastor of St. Patrick's Church.

**MONTCALM**—The French general.

**MONTMAGNY**—Governor of New France in 1636.

**MORIN**—Hon. A. N. Morin, a judge.

**PLESSIS**—Mgr. Plessis, Bishop of Quebec.

**PRÉVOST**—Governor-General of Canada in 1811.

**PRINCE EDWARD**—Edward, Duke of Kent, father of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

**RACINE**—Mgr. Racine, Bishop of Sherbrooke, once pastor of the church of St. Jean-Baptiste.

**RAMEAU**—E. Rameau de St. Père, a French writer, friendly to the Canadians and Acadians.

**SAINT-CYRILLE**—Named in honour of Monseigneur Marois, Vicar General of Quebec.

**SAULT-AU-MATELOT**—A sailor is reported to have jumped from the cliff at this spot.

**SOUS-LE-CAP**—A lane, under the cliff parallel to St. Paul and Sault-au-Matelot streets.

**SOUS-LE-FORT**—Under the old Fort St. Louis which stood over this spot.

**SIGNAY**—The archbishop of that name.

**ST. VALIER**—The second bishop of Quebec.

**VAUBAN**—The celebrated French Engineer.

**VICTORIA**—Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

**VOLTIGEURS**—The 9th Battalion of Militia bears that name.

**WOLFE**—Named after the English General.

There is also a certain group of names of streets whose origin it is unnecessary to recall, such as : Arago, Bayard, Colomb, Colbert, Talon, Vaudreuil, Franklin, Jérôme, Napoléon, Nelson, O'Connell, Richelieu, etc.

## QUEBEC UNDER TWO FLAGS

Many streets bear the names of the places or institutions near which they pass, such as: (Des Jardins), Garden, (Des Carrières) Quarries, (de l'Eglise), Church, (De la Montagne), Mountain Hill, etc.



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"An official despatch from Charles Cambridge, Esq., addressed to Earl Bathurst, contains some particulars of the death of the late Duke, which prove incontestably that he died of canine madness. Whilst he was suffering under the complaint reason occasionally resumed her empire. He availed himself of these lucid intervals to address a letter to Lady Mary Lennox, in which he reminded her that a favourite dog belonging to the household, being in a room at the Castle St. Louis, at a time (five months before) when the Duke, shaving, cut his chin, the dog was lifted up in order to lick the wound, when the animal bit His Grace's chin. The animal subsequently ran mad."

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